The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR) in the Chair.

SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Failure of Government of India to Prevail upon Gujarat Government to withdraw Circular Removing the Ban on its Emmployees Participating in R.S.S. Activities.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to raise a discussion on the failure of the Government of India to discharge its constitutional responsibility to protect secularism which is one of the basic tenets of the Constitution of India by not prevailing upon the State Government of Gujarat to withdraw the circular removing the ban imposed on the State Government employees in participating in the activities of the R.S.S.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, ours is a system of Parliamentary democracy. Secularism is also a basic tenet of our polity, and I submit to you that the safeguarding of parliamentary democracy and the secular values requires that the civil services in our country should be totally neutral when it comes to political affiliations. I recall, when the role of civil services was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly in 1948 or 1949, Sardar Patel had warned the country that if the political neutrality of our services is not ensured, then we will have a system of administration which will not be able to implement the constitutional scheme of things which the Assembly was then debating.

Sir, for the successful functioning of our parliamentary democracy, for the safeguarding of secular values which we all cherish, it is absolutely essential that our Civil Services should be seen to act in the most impartial manner. Political neutrality of our Civil Services, both at the Central and the State levels, is absolutely essential for the successful functioning of our system of parliamentary democracy. It is in this context, Sir, that I note with deep sorrow the attempts now being made to destroy this basic edifice of a politically neutral Civil Service which, I believe, has served our country very well thus far. Sir, I do not want to go into the history of the RSS, nor do I want to use any harsh words. In the RSS, there are people like the hon. Shri Nanaji Deshmukh. He is a person whom I greatly respect, but, Sir, to put it very mildly, the RSS remains a highly controversial organisation. We all know the circumstances in which the RSS was banned after the assassination

of Mahatma Gandhi, and the events of those days are vividly described in a book which was authored by Shri Pyare Lal, the then Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi. In that book, quoting Gandhiji, he described the RSS as a communal organisation, with a totalitarian outlook. Sir, we know when the RSS was banned, there were negotiations between the Government and the authorities of the RSS, and, after that, the ban was lifted. For the first time, I believe, RSS had a written constitution and, if I read correctly, article 4 of its constitution states that "the Sangh has no politics and is devoted to purely cultural work". And it is further stated in that article: "In consonance with the cultural heritage of the Hindu Samaj, the Sangh has abiding faith in the fundamental principle of tolerance towards all faiths." Sir, we all know, and I say it with great regret, that the Sangh has not lived up to these commitments. Its role in fanning communal strife has been documented by many Commissions of Inquiry; and, in this context, Sir, I draw your attention to the Report of the Jaganmohan Reddy Commission on Ahmedabad Riots (1969, the Report of the Madan Commission on Bhiwandi Riots (1970), Justice Vithayathil's Report on Tellicherry Riots (1971), Justice Jitendra Narain's Report on Jamshedpur Riots (1979) and Justice P. Venu Gopal's Report on Kanyakumari Riots (March, 1982). Sir, we all know that although the RSS describes itself as a socio-cultural organisation, in practice, it makes no distinction between culture and politics.

If you read the Organiser, or, the other organs of the RSS, there is nothing but politics in all those papers. The Sarsanghchalak, Shri Rajendra Singh, some years ago, came out with a scheme for amending the Constitution in a most fundamental form. And in this background, Sir, it is most unfortunate that the hon. Prime Minister has chosen to describe the RSS as a purely cultural organisation. I think that is the biggest joke of this century. The worst part is that what the Gujarat Government has done, the Central Government seems to have abetted it and encouraged it to remove the ban on the RSS. We know that the Gujarat circular talks of a circular issued by the Government of India dated 13th July, 1999. And in this circular, the Central Government seems to have told the Gujarat Government that the RSS is not a banned organisation. That certainly is true. It is true that after the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the RSS was declared unlawful, and that was set aside by the Justice Bahri Commission under the Unlawful Activities Act. But the ban on Government servants joining the RSS was imposed long before that. And that ban on non-participation of Government servants in the activities of

Jamat-i-Islami and the RSS was as a result of totality of considerations which weighed with the Government from time to time about the activities of these organisations. To say that an organisation is not illegal, in my humble opinion, is not a sufficient proof that it is a fit organisation for the Government servants to participate. No recognised political party is illegal. And, yet, no civil servant can join any recognised political party. Therefore, Sir, the Gujarat Government, taking advantage of this circular of 13th July, 1999, has done a thing which is totally unacceptable to us. In fact, Sir, in the interest of transparency, we would like the hon. Home Minister to place on the Table of this House the correspondence between him and the Gujarat Government, the exchange of letters; the letters on the basis of which the Gujarat Government has removed the ban on the RSS. If the logic of the hon. Home Minister is followed, I think that logic will lead him to remove the ban on the Central Government employees also participating in the activities of the RSS. Therefore, Sir, I submit that the hon. Home Minister should enlighten us about this exchange of letters between the Home Ministry and the Gujarat Government which form the basis of the decision taken by the Gujarat Government. Sir, the fact that the RSS is not merely an ordinary cultural, or, social organisation is not a new thing because this debate has been going on in our country for many, many years. I recall, for example, when the Janata Party Government was in power in the late 1970's, several non-BJP Members of that coalition had raised that issue. The dual membership issue was precisely an issue that the RSS is, for all practical purposes, a political organisation and cannot be equated to a merely social and cultural organisation. For all these reasons, Sir, what the Gujarat Government has done amounts to, in my humble view, an attempt to subvert the essential purpose of our Constitution. And the RSS, within public administration, whether in Delhi, or, in Gujarat, in my humble view, cannot serve the secular Constitution which we all cherish. For all these reasons, I feel, it is the bounden duty of the Central Government to advise the Gujarat Government to reconsider this matter. Unfortunately, what the hon. Prime Minister has stated has encouraged some other State Governments, like UP and Himachal Pradesh, to say that they also propose to follow the footprints of the Gujarat Government. I sincerely feel it is still not too late for the Central Government to appreciate the gravity of the situation and do the right thing to protect, in letter and spirit, the Constitution and public administration of our country.

Sir, it may be argued that what the Gujarat Government has done is merely a State subject. I don't want to go into the Constitutional niceties. But what the Gujarat Government has done has wide ramifications for the functioning of public administration in our country. If the lead of the Gujarat Government is followed by the Governments of UP, Himachal Pradesh and other States, I think that would constitute a serious subversion of the Constitution of India and, therefore, I feel it is the bounden duty of the Central Government to intervene in this matter.

Sir, I recall, some two or three years ago, the Maharashtra Government had decided to wind up the Srikrishna Commission. But the hon. Prime Minister at that time intervened, and in his wisdom he found it necessary to advise the Maharashtra Government not to implement that decision. Similarly, we feel, Sir, this is a grave issue which demands and calls for the intervention of the Prime Minister and the Government of India to protect and safeguard the Constitution of India.

Sir, it is my honest conviction that a public administration ridden with RSS can neither serve our parliamentary system of Government, nor can it be expected to protect the secular values which we all cherish. Thank you.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल (राजस्थान) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आदरणीय विपक्ष के नेता ने अभी अपने विचार सदन में रखे । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस दल का वह प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं, उस के विचार आर.एस.एस. के संबंध में सर्वविदित हैं और आज भी जो बात उन के द्वारा कही गयी है, उस में कोई नवीनता नहीं है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह विषय यहां से शुरू हुआ कि गुजरात सरकार ने एक सर्कुलर के माध्यम से सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर संघ की शाखाओं में शामिल होने के लिए राज्य सरकार का जो प्रतिबंध था, उस से उन को मुक्त किया गया । विपक्ष के नेता स्वयं इस बात को मानते हैं कि यह राज्य सरकार का विषय है और राज्य सरकार यदि अपने विवेक से और अपने अधिकारों के अंतर्गत कोई कदम उठाती है तो केन्द्र सरकार को उस में ज्यादा दखल नहीं देना चाहिए । तो जहां तक इस बारे में वैधानिक स्थिति का सवाल है, वह स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं । अब यह बात अलग है कि उन का केन्द्र सरकार से अनुरोध हो सकता है कि वह इस बारे में कुछ कार्यवाही करे और उन के अनुरोध पर विचार करना केन्द्र सरकार व प्रधान मंत्री जी का काम है । वह इस पर विचार कर निर्णय देंगे तब वह निर्णय हमारे सामने आएगा, लेकिन चूंकि विपक्ष के नेता ने आर.एस.एस. के संबंध में कुछ विषय छुए हैं, इसलिए उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन

करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में जब संविधान स्वीकृत किया गया तो अपने विचारों को अभिव्यक्त करने की आजादी, लिखने की आजादी और बोलने की आजादी को हम ने फंडामेंटल राइट्स में लिया है, स्वीकार किया है और उसी आधार पर हमारे देश में विविधता में एकता, अनेकता में एकता, इस सिद्धान्त को माना गया है और इस सिद्धान्त के आधार पर हम पिछले 50 वर्षों में अपने देश में राजनीति, समाजनीति और धर्म की नीति चला रहे हैं । मुझे समझ में नहीं आता कि अगर किसी राज्य सरकार ने यह बात कही है तो फिर इसमें इतना अधिक उद्वेलित होने की क्या आवश्यकता है । संघ भी इस देश में 1925 से लेकर आज तक काम कर रहा है । इन्होंने कई बार उस पर प्रतिबंध लगाए और कई बार इनको मुंह की खानी पड़ी, प्रतिबंध हटाने पड़े । अब मुंह की खाने के बाद भी अगर इनके विचार नहीं बदलते हैं तो इसमें हम इनका सहयोग नहीं कर सकते । लेकिन मैं निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूं, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, कि जब विचारों की आजादी है, अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता है, तो फिर कोई संगठन, चाहे वह संघ का है या संघ से समर्थित और कोई संगठन है, यदि वे अपने विचार व्यक्त करते हैं समाज में तो इस बात के लिए करते हैं कि लोग उनके विचारों को सुनें और लोग यदि उनको स्वीकार करें तो उनको आगे चलाएं और संघ भी अपनी विचारधारा को 75 साल से रखता चला आ रहा है, जैसे सी.पी.आई., सी.पी.एम, कांग्रेस के लोग पहले से रखते आ रहे हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please, take your seat, Madam. This is a serious matter. Please do not interrupt. We will hear you also.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: महोदय, मैं इसलिए निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि हर दल ने अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार किया, पोलिटिकल फ्रंट से, लेबर ट्रेड यूनियन के माध्यम से और अन्य पुस्तकों के माध्यम से सब दल करते हैं । गांधिज्म का विचार भी कई प्रकार के संगठनों के द्वारा व्यक्त किया गया । इस देश में गांधी जी की विचारधारा मानने वाले लोग हैं, सी.पी.एम. की विचारधारा मानने वाले लोग हैं, इस देश में अनेक धर्मों के मानने वाले, अनेक संस्कृतियों के, अनेक विचारों के लोग हैं और इसलिए विविधता में एकता का परिचय हमने दिया है । लेकिन आज यह सवाल जो बार-बार खड़ा किया जाता है संघ को लेकर के, मैं समझता हूं कि यह विचार जो पिछले 50 साल से चला आ रहा है, इसके बारे में किसी न किसी प्रकार की दिमाग में कोई पूर्वाग्रह की भावना है या कोई इनका छिपा एजेंडा है जो ये प्रंकट नहीं करना चाहते । आर.एस.एस. की बात को बार-बार उठाना, बार-बार कहना, शायद इनके अंतर्निहित मन में कोई साधना होगी जो यह करना चाहते होंगे, कोई स्वार्थ साधना चाहते होंगे, कोई राजनीति की रोटी सेंकना चाहते होंगे,

कोई वोटरों को अपने प्रति आकर्षित करने का विचार हो सकता है । आप जरूर करें, हमें उसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है, आप जिनको आकर्षित करना चाहें, करें लेकिन संघ को बीच में लाने की मुझे आवश्यकता नहीं लगती। आप ही के माध्यम से, आप ही की सरकारें जब रहीं तो संघ के लोगों पर प्रतिबंध लगाए गए और कई कोर्ट्स में केसिस चलाए गए, संघ के जो लोग सरकार में काम करते थे, सरकारी कर्मचारी थे, उन केसिस में से अभी तक कोई ऐसा केस साबित नहीं किया गया जिसमें यह कहा गया हो कि संघ का व्यक्ति, जो संघ में कार्य करता है या संघ की विचारधारा से किसी प्रकार से जुड़ा हुआ है, उस व्यक्ति को सरकारी नौकरी में रहने का अधिकार नहीं है । ऐसा कोई कानून, ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था कोर्ट ने अभी तक नहीं दी है और जब यह व्यवस्था नहीं है, जब कोर्ट्स में कई केस गए हैं और आप हार चुके हैं और इस प्रकार के प्रतिबंधों के बाद आपने मुंह की खाई है तो अब इस विषय को और प्रचारित करने का क्या अर्थ है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मैं इस बात की चर्चा करते हुए कहना चाहता हूं, कि हम विचारधारा से जुड़े हुए लोग हैं। कोई आदमी अगर मार्क्सिस्ट विचारधारा का आदमी है और वह सरकारी नौकरी में काम करता है, कोई गांधिज्म को मानने वाला व्यक्ति है, कोई इसाइज्म को मानने वाला व्यक्ति है, कोई हिन्दुइज्म को मानने वाला व्यक्ति है और बाकी के धर्मों को और विचारधारों को मानने वाला कोई व्यक्ति अगर है, तो क्या उस कर्मचारी को उस प्रकार की विचारधारा को मानने का अधिकार नहीं होगा ? उसको अधिकार है, हमने दिया है, उस अधिकार के निहित वह अपने विचार, सामाजिक, धार्मिक और अन्य प्रकार के विचार, अर्थनीति पर विचार, व्यक्त कर सकता है । मैं अपने अन्य मित्रों से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या जो लोग ट्रेड यूनियन में काम करते हैं, ट्रेड यूनियन, महोदय, किसी न किसी दल के साथ जुड़ी हैं, चाहे वह 'इंटक' हो, चाहे कोई और हो, उनका अपना राजनीतिक विचार ...**(व्यवधान)**... जो लोग काम करते हैं, वे जानते हैं कि वे किस विषय पर हैं और किस विषय का समर्थन करते हैं, उनको तो राज्य सरकार में काम करने का अधिकार है ।* ...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI MD. SALIM (West Bengal): It s a distortion of facts. He is referring to some circular. I challenge him to produce a copy of that circular. कोई अगर सी.पी.एम. का सदस्य है, वह सरकारी कर्मचारी रह सकता है - इतना गुमराह मत कीजिए । मैं आपको चैलेंज करता हूं, या तो आप अपनी बात को वापस लीजिए या सरकुलर दिखाइए यहां ....**(व्यवधान)**

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* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): I am confident ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): It is a question of order. He cannot quote a circular. He should place a copy of that circular on the Table of the House. There is no such circular to the effect that* ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MD. SALIM: Sir, he is referring to a circular. He is distorting the facts. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let him place a copy of that circular on the Table of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Will you please sit down? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Let him place a copy of the circular on the Table of the House; otherwise, he should withdraw his words.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: He cannot quote a circular without placing it on the Table of the House Sir, we want your ruling. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): When your turn comes... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, we want your ruling. Before quoting it he should have placed it on the Table of the House. We want your ruling. It is a question of order. He must place a copy of the circular on the Table of the House.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: आप लोग मुझे मौका देंगे, तब बोलूंगा ।

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम: इतने भ्रम के ऊपर राजनीति कर रहे हैं, कम से कम सदन को तो भ्रमित मत कीजिए ...**(व्यवधान)**

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी (बिहार): इनकी पालिसी है कि इतना झूठ बोलो कि सच हो जाए ...**(व्यवधान)**

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, the thing is quite simple. The issue which we are discussing is whether it was legitimate for the Gujarat Government to allow Government employees to become members of RSS. That is the issue. He is justifying it by saying that * That is the point,

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*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

which he is making. It is a very important point. Before making such an important point, he must substantiate his allegations. *(Interruptions).*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR) : I have followed the arguments made by all the hon. Members. Kindly listen to me. ...*(Interruptions).*

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, it is not a question of argument. It is a question of facts. There is no such circular.

SHRI MD. SALIM: Sir, if a Member refers to ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Sir, let them read the *Indian Express*....*(Interruptions)*.... Let them read the *Indian Express*. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Will you please sit down? ...*(Interruptions)*... When the Chair is standing, nobody will stand up. Let us follow etiquettes. If the Chair is standing, nobody will stand up. You have made your point. If he is not able to substantiate it at the end of this submission, we will strike it out. Please don't interrupt him. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Sir, he should withdraw his words. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने मुझे आज्ञा दी है, मैं आपकी आज्ञा से बोल रहा हूं। मैं अनुरोध करुंगा कि... **(व्यवधान)**

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: If I have understood your ruling correctly, your ruling is that if the Member is not in a position to substantiate his statement at the end of his speech, then, you will strike it off at the end ...*(Interruptions)*... Is that the ruling?...*(Interruptions)*... If that is the case, we will be very happy with it...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : आप इस तरह से मुझे नहीं बिठा सकते हैं। मुझमें भी उतना ही दम है। सदन में जो विचार चल रहा है उसको आप डाइवर्ट करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: If we have understood your ruling correctly, it is that if he does not produce evidence of it, then, that part of his speech will be deleted...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): It will be expunged...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I have evidence in the form of an article in the "Indian Express"...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : आप इस तरह से मुझे नहीं बिठा सकते हैं। मुझमें भी उतना ही दम है। सदन में जो विचार चल रहा है उसको आप डाइवर्ट करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम : अग्रवाल जी, आप बड़े सम्मानित सदस्य हैं। हमने बार-बार कहा है कि आप उनके दिए हुए मसले पर मत चलिए, हकीकत पर बयान कीजिए।... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: It is a document which has not been challenged so far...*(Interruptions)*... Let them verify the fact and then come to the House...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): If the newspaper is a document, then a plain paper, which I have, is also a document...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Sir, you don't listen to Shri Venkaiah Naidu. You just refer to the last line spoken by Shri Ramdas Agarwal...*(Interruptions)*... If what he says is a fact, then, let him prove it...*(Interruptions)*... He does not have the right to mislead the House...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAHNAIDU:* ....*(Interruptions)*.. .. It has been prominently mentioned in the "Indian Express" ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: It is as good as a plain paper. I also have, with me, a plain paper...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: * ... *(Interruptions)* ... They have politicised the Government ...*(Interruptions)*... Will you allow me to read an article?...*(Interruptions)*...

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*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: We want your ruling on this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): I have already given my ruling that at the end of his submission, if he is not able to substantiate it, then, to that extent, it will be deleted. What else do you want?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Our point of order is that he is misleading the House...*(Interruptions)* There is a procedure...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): There is no procedure that it should be done in the beginning or that it should be done at the time you dictate. Let us go by the procedure...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: He must say now that he is authenticating the document...*(Interruptions)*... Let him say that ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रामदास अग्रवालः उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने अपनी बात पूरी नहीं की।... **(व्यवधान)**। मैं बोल रहा हूं... **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: Let him give an assurance that this is an authenticated statement and that he will produce it before the House...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): I have given my ruling. That is the end of the subject...*(Interruptions)* Nothing else will be recorded...*(Interruptions)* I have given my ruling...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: I have a point of order. I would like to know whether the circular, which is being referred to, is going to be authenticated by the hon. Member. Is it necessary to authenticate it or not?...*(Interruptions)*... I am on my legs. Is the hon. Member going to authenticate the circular, which is being referred to, or not...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Shri Venkaiah Naidu is showing some paper.* ...*(Interruptions)*... * ... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Mr. Salim, your anger is flying and your paper is also flying. Please take it away. I have given my ruling.

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*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

SHRI MD. SALIM: How can he say Government is secular?

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : हां, आप भी करते हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: अगर आप कुछ कहेंगे...**(व्यवधान)**... मेम्बर मेरी जुबान बन्द नहीं कर सकते हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Nothing will go on record till I say. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जिस विषय पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करना चाहता हूं , उस पर इस प्रकार की उत्तेजना की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हम सब एक विषय पर विचार-विनिमय कर रहे हैं। किसी एक विषय पर हमारे और आपके मतभेद हो सकते हैं और मतभेद हैं, यह हम मानते हैं। मैं एक बात का निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश के अन्दर ...**(व्यवधान)**... अगर कोई पार्टी काम करती है और उसने अपना कोई डिक्लियरेशन किया हुआ है कि वह फलां नियम के अन्तर्गत अपनी गतिविधियां चलायेगी ...**(व्यवधान)**...मैं यह मानकर चलता हूं कि संघ ने कई बार इस प्रकार की घोषणा की है, आरएसएस ने घोषणा की है कि वह देश में केवल सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में काम करना चाहता है, उन्होंने कभी अपनी इच्छा जाहिर नहीं की कि वह राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम करना चाहता है, वह सदैव सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में काम करते रहे हैं और कभी भी किसी व्यक्ति ने किसी प्रकार का उनके प्लेटफार्म पर कोई चुनाव नहीं लड़ा है। उन्होंने कभी किसी चुनाव के अन्दर घोषणा पत्र का इधर या उधर नहीं किया। फिर आप बार-बार यह क्यों कहते हैं कि संघ राजनीतिक है? संघ ने घोषणा की है कि संघ राजनीतिक संस्था नहीं है। संघ सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक संगठन है। वह इस देश में 75 साल से काम कर रहा है और इस प्रकार की विचारधारा आगे आने वाले समय में भी इस देश में काम करती रहेगी। उसे कोई नहीं रोक पायेगा। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप किसी को जबर्दस्ती यह नहीं कह सकते कि आप राजनीति में काम करते हो, राजनीति में तुम्हें नहीं आना चाहिए। वह उस संगठन के नेता हैं, वह उस संगठन के लोग हैं। वह जिस दिन चाहेंगे राजनीति में आ जायेंगे और आप उनको रोक नहीं सकेंगे। लेकिन उन्होंने घोषणा की है कि वह राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में काम नहीं करना चाहते हैं, वह सामाजिक क्षेत्र में काम करना चाहते हैं और अब तक वह करते रहे हैं। इसलिए उनके मुंह में यह शब्द देना कि आपको राजनीतिक कहा जाएगा, यह बिल्कुल अन्याय होगा। किसी संगठन के लिए आप जबर्दस्ती इस प्रकार की बात कहना चाहते हैं कि उन्हें राजनीति में आना चाहिए या नहीं, उन्हें राजनीतिक दल की संज्ञा देनी चाहिए या नहीं, यह बिल्कुल

अवैधानिक होगा, असंवैधानिक होगा, अनैतिक होगा। कोई किसी भी दल या संगठन को जो सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में काम करता है, उस पर इस तरह का दबाव डाला जाना या यह कहा जाना कि वह राजनीति में काम करता है, यह अनैतिक है। संघ राजनीति में काम नहीं करना चाहता है। उसकी यह घोषणा एक बार नहीं, सैकड़ों पर हो चुकी है।

इसलिए मैं विपक्ष के नेता डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि आप अगर चाहें तो लिख दीजिए सरसंघचालक जी को, रज्जू भैया जी को, राजेन्द्र जी को कि वह राजनीतिक पार्टी बनाये। आपके सुझाव पर वह विचार करेंगे। हम इस सदन में उनको राजनीति में आने का न्यौता नहीं दे सकते हैं। बहुत से राजनैतिक दल बने हुए हैं, हमें इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं है।

हमारे देश के अंदर राजनीति में काम करने वाले सैकड़ों लोग पड़े हैं, कुछ लोग अगर सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में काम कर रहे हैं तो उन्हें करने दीजिए, उन्हें राजनीति में धकेलने की क्या आवश्यकता है ? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर हम लोग किसी विशेष धर्म के प्रति या किसी समुदाय के प्रति असहिष्णुता का विचार रखेंगे तो इस देश के अंदर असहिष्णुता और इस प्रकार की संवेदनहीनता पैदा हो जाएगी जो अंत में जाकर हमारे राष्ट्र के लिए, हमारे समाज के लिए, हमारे प्रजातंत्र के लिए सार्थक नहीं होगी, हमारे प्रजातंत्र के लिए नुकसान देने वाली होगी । महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Just a minute. May I request the Members? Please do not have this running commentary. You heard Dr. Manmohan Singh in silence. He is entitled to be heard in silence. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, please address, whatever you want to address, to the Chair. Don't address them.

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम : उनकी ज़ुबान से सहिष्णुता की बात सुनकर हमें खुशी हो रही है, यहां पर खुशी की लहर दौड़ रही है कि वह असहिष्णुता के खिलाफ सहिष्णुता की बात कर रहे हैं, अभिव्यक्ति के अधिकार की बात कर रहे हैं । इससे तो खुशी की लहर दौड़ रही है। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: केवल आपको ही बोलने का अधिकार नहीं है।...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि जब इस देश में आक्रमण हुए, जब इस देश पर विदेशियों के द्वारा आक्रमण किए गये - उस समय बी.जे.पी. की सरकार नहीं थी, उस समय वाजपेयी जी प्रधानमंत्री नहीं थे, उस समय लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी

प्रधान मंत्री थे। उन्होंने कहा कि देश पर आक्रमण हुआ है, हमें उन जवानों की जरूरत है जो हमारे देश में आकर हमारे समाज की आंतरिक व्यवस्था में सहयोग करें। उन्होंने उस समय आर.एस.एस. के लोगों का आहवान् किया था और उनसे कहा कि आप यह जो सिविल का काम है इसको संभालिए, दिल्ली की रक्षा करिए, दिल्ली के अंदर काम करिए - यह लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने कहा था। लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने उनको आमन्त्रित किया था। ...**(व्यवधान)**... जबर्दस्ती किसी को दबाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... जब लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी संघ के स्वयं सेवकों को आमन्त्रित कर सकते हैं कि आप आइए और 26 जनवरी की परेड में शामिल होइए तो उस समय क्या यह बात नहीं थी? संघ तब से लेकर आज तक उसी विचारधारा पर चल रहा है । साम्प्रदायिक दंगों के नाम पर कोट किया जाता है तो यह सब फेब्रीकेटिड स्टोरीज़ हैं, यह सब बनायी गयी बातें हैं। राजनीति में अपने स्वार्थों को सिद्ध करने के लिए ...(व्यवधान)...

[**उपसभापति महोदया** पीठासीन हुईं]

माफी चाहता हूं, नेहरू जी ने चाइनीज़ अटैक के समय कहा था।...**(व्यवधान)**... ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है । उसमें भी अगर कोई बात है तो मैं अपनी बात ठीक कर लेता हूं। मैं उस समय छोटा बालक था, इसलिए ध्यान नहीं था । यह 30-35 साल पहले की बात है ।

एक माननीय सदस्यः लीडर ऑफ आपोजीशन को तो याद होगा।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवालः मुझे लगता है कि आपको 62 की बात पसंद नहीं है क्योंकि 62 में आपका रोल कुछ अलग था । सब जानते हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : अब जरा शांति से उनकी बात सुनिए । आपका मौका आएगा तो आप भी आराम से जवाब दीजिएगा।...**(व्यवधान)**... अब आप लोग सुन लीजिए कि वह क्या कह रहे हैं ।

कुमारी मैबल रीबैलो (मध्य प्रदेश): इन्होंने जो सरकुलर कोट किया है, वही हमको दिखा दें। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : यह तो समय बर्बाद कर रहे हैं, कृपया करके इन्हें बिठाया जाए।...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : आप बैठिए। मैं इसीलिए आ गयी हूं।...**(व्यवधान)**...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, let me tell you what has happened. ...*(Interruptions)*... While Mr. Agarwal was speaking, he mentioned that * This is what he said. *(Interruptions)*

उपसभापति: आप शांति से बैठिए ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर । वह प्वाइंट खत्म हो चुका है । उसके बाद बहस जारी हो चुकी है । यह अननैसैसरी टाइम वेस्ट कर रहे हैं ।...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : इस विषय पर रूलिंग हो चुकी है ।

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद (जम्मू और कश्मीर) : रूलिंग खत्म नहीं हुई है, रूलिंग अभी है।...**(व्यवधान)**...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, we wanted to know from the hon. Member where that circular was. Can he quote the number of that circular? Can he give us the date of that circular? Can he produce a copy of that circular? Obviously, he can't because such a circular doesn't exist. My point is this. The Vice-Chairman, who was in the Chair earlier, categorically said if the speaker could not produce the evidence on that point, then that part of the speech should be deleted. I am requesting you to kindly confirm that ruling, that, that part of the speech... *(Interruptions)*

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : यह सदन की परम्परा...**(व्यवधान)**...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA : Also, Madam, it is not a question of argument. It is a question of facts. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री राजनाथ सिंह "सूर्य" : वे न्यूज़पेपर्स से क्वोट कर रहे हैं तो इसमें आपको क्या आपत्ति हो रही है ? न्यूज़पेपर्स में जो सवाल उठता है, वह सवाल जब वे पढ़ेंगे तो...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will find out. ...*(Interruptions)*... I will look into the record and see what the ruling was. It is not proper for me just to ask the person who was sitting in the Chair before me. We never do such things. But, definitely, I will look into the record and find out what the ruling was. Whatever ruling the Chair gives, it is binding on the House. That

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* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

is clear. I think, the discussion which everybody was very keen to have is a serious discussion. You will have your concerns. It is much better that whatever Mr. Agarwal is saying or whoever else says, you listen to it and then ask questions or reply to it; then only, we will have a meaningful debate. But, in this chaotic manner, nothing will be reported properly. Nothing will come out of it properly. So, let Mr. Agarwal complete his speech.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: महोदया, मैं जिस विषय पर चर्चा कर रहा हूं, उसमें केवल दो बिंदु मुझे और कहने हैं । उसके बाद मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करूंगा । महोदया, जिस प्रकार से आरोप लगाया जाता है साम्प्रदायिकता का, अन्य विषयों का, मैं उसकी गहराई में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं लेकिन मैं इतना ज़रूर कहना चाहता हूं कि हम लोग अपनी किसी राजनीतिक विचारधारा के आधार पर किसी पर कई प्रकार के आक्षेप और आरोप लगाते हैं, हमारा यह स्वभाव है, हम भी लगाते हैं, आप भी लगाते हैं लेकिन मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि संघ के बारे में जब कभी भी चर्चा होती है और संघ के बारे में जब कभी उसके कदम के बारे में चर्चा होती है तो बहुत से लोग सेंसेटिव हो जाते हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश के अंदर हमने सबको समान अधिकार दिया है अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार करने के लिए, उसका विस्तार करने के लिए और उस विस्तार और प्रचार में अगर संघ आगे निकल गया है तो उसमें आपको और हमें शिकायत करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है । आपने अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार किया था, आप पीछे छूट गए इसका हमारे पास इलाज नहीं है । आज सी.पी.एम. के बारे में मैंने सुना है कि शायद उनका राष्ट्रीय रिकोग्निशन समाप्ति के कगार पर आ गया है । तो उसमें हमारा दोष नहीं है । आप अगर एक ही प्रांत में रह गए तो हमारा दोष नहीं है । आपने बहुत प्रचार किया था कम्युनिज्म का, अपनी समाजवादी विचारधारा का और मार्क्सिज्म का और यह 70-100 साल से आप कर रहे हैं लेकिन आपके पास अब घूम-फिर कर केवल कुछ लोग रह गए हैं तो उसका हमारे पास क्या इलाज है ? हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी है, इनके पास एक बार चार सौ से ज्यादा सांसद थे लेकिन धीरे-धीरे इन्होंने जो धर्मनिरपेक्षता की बातें कीं, तथाकथित धर्मनिरपेक्षता की बातें कीं और जिस तरह इन्होंने अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार किया, इसके बाद वे 110 हो गए । इसमें हमारा दोष नहीं है, अगर इस प्रकार की स्थिति आपकी हो रही है । हम 2 थे 1984 में और अगर आज हम 200 के आसपास पहुंच गए हैं तो इसमें आपको क्या तकलीफ है ?...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI MD. SALIM : Madam, is it the topic of this debate? *...(Interruptions)*... We debated for three days to find out the exact wording of the topic.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : यह इसी से संबंधित है । उपसभापति महोदया, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : उनकी सुनिए कि वे क्या कहना चाहते हैं ?

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि संघ का काम बढ़ता गया और आप घटते गए । इसके पीछे क्या भावना है और क्या स्थिति है, इसका कभी शांत मन से चिंतन करिए । संघ बढ़ता जा रहा है, आप घटते जा रहे हैं । संघ की ताकत बढ़ती जा रही है और उसी के कारण स्वाभाविक है कि आपके मन में चिंता होगी। स्वाभाविक है आपको अपनी घटती ताकत से रोष होगा लेकिन वह रोष आप संघ पर क्यों निकालना चाहते हैं? भाजपा आपके सामने मौजूद है । हमारे ऊपर रोष निकालिए । आप हमको कहिए, हम उसका जवाब देंगे लेकिन आर.एस.एस. यहां मौजूद नहीं है । आप आर.एस.एस. की चर्चा यहां करना चाहते हैं, जो संगठन यहां मौजूद नहीं है, उसके संबंध में आप चर्चा यहां कैसे कर सकते हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : महोदया, आर.एस.एस. यहां मौजूद नहीं है, यह तो हमारे लिए बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है। Let them admit it. Let it be said that there is nobody from the RSS in this Government; we will have no discussion on it. Let us agree on it. ...*(Interruptions)*... जहां तक हमारी जानकारी है, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से लेकर गृह मंत्री जी तक, सभी मंत्रियों ने कहा है कि हम आर.एस.एस. के हैं...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री टी.एन.चतुर्वेदी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : संगठन के रूप में यहां नहीं हैं । विचारधारा तो रहेगी ही। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद: मैडम, अगर आर.एस.एस. का यहां कोई नहीं है तो हमको कोई प्रचार की ज़रूरत नहीं है। Let them admit that nobody in the Government is from the RSS. We will wind up the discussion; we will have no discussion on this issue.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैंने यह कहा है कि आर.एस.एस.यहां संगठन के रूप में मौजूद नहीं है...**(व्यवधान)**, आर.एस.एस. यहां मौजूद नहीं है...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : आपने बताया आप प्रेजिडेंट पार्टी के हैं, आर.एस.एस. का यहां कोई नहीं है, हम डिस्कशन नहीं करेंगे । अगर आर.एस.एस. का कोई नहीं है...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: आर.एस.एस. संगठन के रूप में यहां मौजूद नहीं है...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम: मन में कुछ है और मुंह से कुछ और कह रहे हैं...**(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति: आप लोग बैठ जाइए...**(व्यवधान)**, प्लीज सिट डाउन...**(व्यवधान)** आप अभी और कितनी देर बोलेंगे ।

श्री गुलाम नबी आजाद: अभी तो शुरू हुए हैं...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मेरी जगह हमारे दीपांकर जी बोल रहे थे । मैं तो बोल नहीं रहा हूं । उधर से ही बोले जा रहे हैं, मैं तो बोल नहीं रहा हूं । यह उनकी डेमोक्रेसी है मैं क्या करूं ।

श्री अखिलेश दास (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैं रामदास जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि 1979 में यहां जब मोरारजी देसाई की सरकार थी, प्रधानमंत्री जी, जो हमारे सामने बैठे हैं, माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी उस समय विदेश मंत्री थे । यहीं पर दोहरी सदस्यता का विषय उठाया गया था, आर.एस.एस. का दोहरी सदस्यता का विषय, और तब सारे माननीय सदस्यों ने, जो यहां बैठे हैं सबने कहा कि हम आर.एस.एस. के सदस्य हैं, हमारी दोहरी सदस्यता है । माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी उस समय विदेश मंत्री थे, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी उस समय सूचना मंत्री थे ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: मुझे अफसोस है कि ये शब्द मेरे मुंह में डालने की कोशिश की जा रही है । मैंने यह नहीं कहा, मैंने यह कहा कि आर.एस.एस. संगठन के रूप में यहां मौजूद नहीं है इसलिए उसकी चर्चा क्यों करनी चाहिए ? ये सदन में क्यों करना चाहते हैं ?

श्री अखिलेश दास : आप गर्व से कहिए कि आप आर.एस.एस. के सदस्य हैं, आप छुपाते क्यों हैं, आप बोलिए...**(व्यवधान)**.

उपसभापति: आप बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैं अपने सभी माननीय सांसदों से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं । यह मेरा अंतिम बिंदु है और मैं शांति के साथ उनको यह बात कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश के अंदर सभी समाजों को, सभी वर्गों को, सभी लोगों को समान रूप से रहने का अधिकार है और उसी अधिकार के अंतर्गत हिंदू समाज को भी इस देश में पूरी तरह से

अपने विचारों का प्रचार और विस्तार करने का अधिकार है । इसलिए जब संघ इस प्रकार के विचार और प्रस्ताव करता है तो उसके विरुद्ध इस प्रकार की बातें कहने की आवश्यता नहीं है । आप अपने प्रचार-विस्तार अपने तरीके से करो । मैं तो इतना कहना चाहता हूं कि संघ का स्वयंसेवक कहीं भी काम करता है, वह राजनैतिक क्षेत्र में भी आया होगा, वह सरकारी क्षेत्र...**(व्यवधान)** यदि आर.एस.एस. का व्यक्ति कहीं काम करता है, चाहे वह सरकारी कर्मचारी हो, चाहे सेना में हो या पुलिस में हो और चाहे सामाजिक क्षेत्र में काम करता हो, अगर आप में से किसी ने भी कभी किसी पर आरोप लगाया है कि वह आदमी, जो आर.एस.एस. का है, सरकारी कर्मचारी होने के नाते बेईमानी करता है, कामचोरी करता है, पक्षपात करता है तो मैं समझ सकता हूं कि आपका आरोप सही है लेकिन आज तक तो, कम से कम इतने वर्षों से संघ के जगह-जगह पर हजारों, लाखों लोग कर्मचारी होंगे, लाखों लोग काम करते हैं लेकिन उन पर ऐसा कोई आरोप नहीं लगा है कि उन्होंने कोई देशद्रोह किया है या उन्होंने अपने काम में जगह-जगह पर, उन पर कोई आरोप नहीं लगा है कि उन्होंने कोई देशद्रोह किया है या उन्होंने अपने काम में कामचोरी की है, बेईमानी की है, दगा किया है या सरकार को धोखा दिया है या किसी प्रकार से पक्षपात किया है। महोदया, ऐसा कोई उदाहरण कोई प्रस्तुत नहीं करता। लेकिन एक व्यक्ति संघ में जाता है इसलिए उसको कोई अधिकार नहीं मिलेगा, ऐसा इस देश के प्रजातंत्र में कभी स्वीकार्य नहीं हो सकता। वह किसी जगह भी काम करे, कैसे भी विचार रखे, लेकिन अगर सरकारी कर्मचारी है तो ईमानदारी से काम करे, ईमानदारी से प्रशासन का काम करे यही हमारी सरकारी कर्मचारी से अपेक्षा है। हमें उसके विचारों को बांधने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। उसकी आजादी पर ताला लगाने की जरूरत नहीं है । उनके सामाजिक विचारों पर, सांस्कृतिक विचारों पर, धार्मिक विचारों पर आप ताला लगाकर नहीं चल सकते। प्रजातंत्र में ताला लगाने का मतलब होता है प्रजातंत्र को रोकना, प्रजातंत्र को बांधना और प्रजातंत्र को बांधने की परंपरा हमारे देश में कभी नहीं रही। मैं आपका धन्यवाद करना चाहता हूं जो आपने अपने विचार रखने का मौका दिया। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. Pillai. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Madam, I am on a point of order. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

SHRI MD. SALIM: Madam, in the course of his submission Mr. Ramdas Agarwal referred to a circular, which was objected to by me, * At

* Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

that point of time, I raised that point and I brought it to the notice of the Vice-Chairman and told him that he was misleading the House because no such circular had been issued. The Vice-Chairman was wise and kind enough to say that the circular he was referring to should be placed before the House or the hon. Member should withdraw what he said in this regard after he finished his speech because rules do not provide it either in the midst or in the beginning of speech. The Vice-Chairman said that he would do so immediately after he finished his speech. He said the same thing at the end of his speech. Now he has finished his speech. I seek your protection and your ruling. ...*(Interruptions)*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Dr. Dasgupta also raised the same point and you had rightly pointed out that if any Member says something...*(Interruptions)*... Occasionally we change or withdraw what we say. ...*(Interruptions)*... But, whatever ruling is given by the Chair, that should be honoured. ..*(Interruptions)*... The hon. Member should honour that ruling.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I was in the Chair when you referred to that ruling of the Chair. If any speech in the House mentions any allegation, it has to be substantiated. If Mr. Agarwal has said that such a circular was there...*(Interruptions)*... Just a minute. ...*(Interruptions)*.. Mr. Agarwal, you will have to substantiate whatever you were saying because it is being contested by the Members from West Bengal. If you do not have the circular, you cannot substantiate it; it is just a hearsay or you read it in a newspaper or somewhere or somebody told you; then you may withdraw it according to the ruling given by Mr. Shirodkar.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उपसभापति महोदया, जब मैं इस विषय पर बोल रहा था, मेरे बोलने के साथ साथ माननीय सदस्यों ने आपत्ति की, घोर आपत्ति की । यह उनका अधिकार है, कर सकते हैं । लेकिन जब मैं बोल रहा था तो मुझे कम से कम अपनी बात कहने का मौका तो देते । मैंने जो कहा है, वह इस आधार पर कहा है कि समाचार पत्रों में यह बात छपी है।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : नहीं नहीं।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : सुनिये, मैं जो कह रहा हूं।...**(व्यवधान)**

3.00 P.M

AN HON. MEMBER: Madam, you go through the record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

You had your say. Let him have his say. Let him explain to me because whatever is said in the House, it is part of the record. I can always check it. He is making his clarification. Let me hear it first, then I will give my ruling.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, मैंने जो कहा है, इस आधार पर कहा है । यह अखबार में छपा है और हैडिंग है और मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे माननीय सदस्यों ने जो उस दल से संबंधित हैं, इसको जरूर पढ़ा होगा ।

उपसभापति : कौन सा पेपर है? ...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: This newspaper was subsequently given by Mr. Naidu...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sit down, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : यह बाद में उन्होंने दिया।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य': यह गलत बात है।...**(व्यवधान)** आप गलत बात बोल रहे हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उसमें हैडिंग लगा है। ...**(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : अग्रवाल जी, आप बैठिये ज़रा । अग्रवाल जी, आपको तो पता है, जब आप उधर थे तब भी हमारी यही रूलिंग रहती थी और अब आप इधर हैं, तब भी हमारी वही रूलिंग रहेगी । It does not matter. The ruling of the House has always been that whatever is said in the House, if it is of a nature of an allegation, it has to be substantiated. Now, many things appear in the newspapers. But, you do not have any authenticity that all these things are true. If you want to authenticate that newspaper report, I have no objection. It is entirely up to you. If you want to authenticate that this is a correct news item which appeared in a newspaper, it is up to you, then you will have to take the responsibility.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम, मैं आपसे ...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI SATISHCHANDRA SITARAM PRADHAN (Maharashtra): It is not an allegation; it is a piece of information.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम, यह कोई एलीगेशन नहीं है। He has made a reference :o और अब उसकी नालेज है तथा दूसरे ने सप्लाई किया है तो what is the harm in it...

SHRI MD. SALIM: Reference to a non-existing circular!...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभापति : आप बैठिए।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी: फिर हम लोग भी इसी तरह का हवाला देंगे ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : अनाप-शनाप बोलेंगे अखबार के आधार पर ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य': ...**(व्यवधान)** हाउस में कोई न्यूजपेपर कोट नहीं किया जाएगा?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Salim, please keep quiet. If you want to handle it, you handle it. Then, the discussion will not take place. I want the discussion which is listed in today's List of Business to conclude in a proper manner. I am telling Mr. Agarwal, if he feels, I will look into the record. I would advise him that one should never authenticate a newspaper report.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: मेरी बात आप कम से कम कृपा करके एक बार सुन लें फिर आप जैसा आदेश देंगी मैं उसके मुताबिक करूंगा।

उपसभापति : आदेश तो उन्होंने दिया है - प्रीवियस में।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैं जो निवेदन करना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि यह जो विषय आज सदन में रखा गया है, यह किस आधार पर रखा गया है? कौन से आधार पर है? केवल न्यूजपेपर्स में यह चर्चा है कि आर.एस.एस. यह करता है, आर.एस.एस. वह करता है ...**(व्यवधान)** हां सरकुलर है गवर्नमेंट का ...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI RAJUBHAI A. PARMAR(Gujarat) : There is a circular of the Government of Gujarat...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Agarwal, just one minute...*(Interruptions)*...As a Member of this August

House...*(Interruptions)*...Just one minute...*(Interruptions)*...As a Member of this August House, you should not question the wisdom of the Chairman...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL: I am not doing that...*(Interruptions)*...मैंने कब कहा है ...**(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just one second... *(Interruptions)*...The Hon. Chairman himself has given permission for discussion on this issue by various political parties. If the Hon. Chairman can accept that there is some issue which could be discussed on the floor of the House, I am not questioning it. But, you cannot say, 'How has it been discussed?" I have not given the permission. It is the Hon. Chairman who had allowed the discussion in the House...*(Interruptions)*...Now, don't go more into the details because you are getting into difficulty. Better say whether you are authenticating the newspaper report...*(Interruptions)*...You withdraw it...*(Interruptions)*..

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम मैं आपसे एक सबमिशन करना चाहता हूं। जो कुछ मैंने कहा है अभी अभी उसमें मैंने यह कहा कि यह विषय हमने क्यों लिया। मैं क्वेश्चन नहीं कर रहा हूं। मैंने कहा कि क्यों लिया? ***...(व्यवधान)** मैं यह बात कहने जा रहा हूं और मैं कहता हूं लेकिन इसके पहले और लोग मुझे रोक देते हैं इसका मैं क्या करूंगा। मैंने विजडम पर क्वेश्चन नहीं किया है। मैंने यह कहा है कि यह क्वेश्चन खड़ा क्यों हुआ?* ठीक है। इसलिए यह क्वेश्चन खड़ा हुआ। ठीक है। अगर मेरे पास में **...(व्यवधान)** किसी दूसरे दल के बारे में कोई सूचना है तो उसको मैं भी रखने का अधिकार रखता हूं और मेरे पास जो सूचना है उसमें हेडिंग है और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के महानुभावों ने अगर उसका खंडन किया है तो अपनी बात मैं कह सकता हूं। लिखा हुआ है:

> "The CPI (M) in West Bengal changed the Service Rules so that the State Government employees could participate in politics, now it cries foul."

This is the heading of a leading newspaper and I have not found any where, so far, any contradiction either from the party or from the headquarters. That is the reason why I believe that this is the news which has come in a leading

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* Expunged. as ordered by the Chair

newspaper and it should be correct. On that basis, I have said that the Communist Party has changed the Service Rules and, accordingly, their cadre is taking part in politics on that basis. The CPI (M) is a political party and if their cadre can enter into the Government service, it is all right! If it is all right, why are you raising that the R.S.S should be banned and all that...*(Interruptions)*...Madam, R.S.S. is a cultural organisation ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम : हद हो गयी मैडम ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : एक असत्य बोलने के लिए दस असत्य बोल रहे हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम : दोनों रिकार्ड यहां हैं ...**(व्यवधान)** दोनों कापियां लाइए। अगर दोनों एक हैं तो हमें कोई आब्जेक्शन नहीं है ...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Madam, let us keep the record straight. The hon. Member mentioned about the circular. At that particular point of time, this newspaper clipping was not there in his hands...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL: What are you saying?...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: We have seen that...*(Interruptions)*...पढ़ने के बाद इनको हैंडओवर किया है ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम: पहली बार क्या बोले उस पर हमने चैलेंज किया है...**(व्यवधान)**

SHRI MD. SALIM: This is how they are resorting to falsehood...*(Interruptions)*...Madam, he had not only misled the House on an earlier occasion, but he is misleading the House even now. एक ने गलत किया, दूसरा भी गलत करे तो सही नहीं होता।...**(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Dr. Manmohan Singh wants to say something. ...*(Interruptions)*....

श्री मोहम्मद सलीम: गुजरात का सर्कुलर हमारे पास है।...**(व्यवधान)** न्यूज़पेपर रिपोर्ट्स नहीं है।...**(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have asked the Leader of the Opposition.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH : It is our sincere desire to have a serious discussion on this issue and I would like the House and the Government to reflect. Even if you regard the R.S.S. as a socio-cultural organisation, you should ponder over what the hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has said that if R.S.S. is a socio-cultural organisation, then all political parties would set up similar socio-cultural organisations and that will be the end of the impartiality and the neutrality of the civil service that we are talking about.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, the matter is that he wants a discussion in the House. I will look into both the records and then I will give my ruling. Just now, let the discussion go on because in this controversy "whether he said it, he did not say it, it came in the newspaper, whether a circular is there or not", nothing can be said. It can be checked later. Now, I will ask Shri Ramachandran Pillai to speak.

SHRI S. RAMACHANDRAN PILLAI (Kerala) : Madam Deputy Chairperson, the Leader of the Opposition has raised an important issue. After the assumption of power by the B.J.P. at the Centre, a deliberate organised attack is there against the secular and democratic polity of our country. This attack is extended to all secular and democratic institutions in our country. The manner of attack is two-pronged. One, there is a direct frontal attack against the institutions. There is an attempt of infiltration and trying to sabotage from within. This is the second type of attack that is being done. Madam, sectarian, intolerant and aggressive Hindu communal policies are being patronised under the B.J.P. rule in this country, and these attempts have created a very dangerous situation, not only to the democratic and secular polity of our country, but also to the very existence of the integrity and unity of our nation. Madam, lifting of the ban on the Government employees joining R.S.S. in Gujarat and its justification by the Ministers at the Centre is not a simple matter. It is not only a question of allowing Government servants joining political parties or engaging in political activities. This is not an isolated incidence. It is part of a process, it is part of a process of incidents taking place in this country -- the attack against the filming of "Water" in Banaras, the withdrawal of books by the ICHR, the consistent attack against minorities and their institutions. The argument of

the Gujarat Government and the argument raised by my hon. friend, Shri Ramdas Agarwal that R.S.S. is a socio-cultural organisation is not based on facts. The R.S.S. has a distinct political philosophy of its own. It gives a very narrow definition of culture synonymous with religion and it gives an entirely different interpretation of Hinduism and trying to impose its views on others. They also ask others to submit to their views. They believe in establishment of a Hindu *rashtra,* and they are striving for it. If this is not politics, then, what is politics? The RSS is more political than the BJP, and there is no justification in saying that it is a socio-cultural organisation and that employees can join this organisation.

Madam, I find that this philosophy of the RSS is dangerous to India's integrity and unity. If the RSS is patronised and if Government employees are persuaded and induced to join the RSS, this will have very serious repercussions for the secular, democratic polity of our country.

Madam, India is a country of rich diversities. We speak different languages. We believe in different religions. Our lifestyles are different. We have different ethnic communities. We have different cultures. It is a fact that there is unity among this diversity. The common will to live together is there, and this is the strengthening.

Madam, if we look back at India's history, we have withstood waves of immigrations and invasions in the past. All the people who came to India before the industrial revolution in west became part of India. All contribute to the richness of India's composite culture. What helped us in withstanding the attacks of these invaders? The flexibility, the tolerance, the openness and the give-and-take attitude. That helped us to maintain the integrity and unity of India.

The philosophy now patronised and propagated under the BJP Government is against India's interests. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is arguing and branding tolerance as an act of cowardice. It is branding openness and flexibility as anarchy and indiscipline. It works for sectarian, intolerant and aggressive policies. If employees are allowed to join this organisation, if employees are encouraged to join this organisation, definitely the unity and integrity of our country will be in danger. This will also attract such trends in other social sections. The attempt of this sectarian group to hold the country to ransom should be definitely resisted.

I am glad that some of the partners of the National Democratic Alliance, particularly the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the Telugu Desam Party, have come out opposing the action of the Gujarat Government in allowing its employees to participate in activities of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. I hope more of N.D.A. partners will come out and show more courage and determination in resisting the attempt of the B.J.P. in patronising the sectarian policies and pratices.

In the country the unity and integrity is now at stake. All patriotic forces should come forward unitedly to fight this drift, to fight these sectarian policies. The Central Government have to abide by the provisions of the Constitution and they are duty bound to protect the secular and democratic polity of the country. Instead of performing that act, they are encouraging those forces, which are attacking the secular aqnd democratic polity. Madam, all democratic forces should come forwárd to resist this attempt.

With these words, I conclude.

उपसभापति : मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी । आपके यहां से दो नाम लिखे हैं आपका और सी.एम. इब्राहीम का ।

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** (बिहार) : अल्लाह एक ओबैदुल्ला एक ।

उपसभापतिः ठीक है, तो मैं इब्राहीम जी का नाम काट देती हूं आपके कहने पर। आपके लिए सिर्फ पांच मिनट हैं और मुझे लगा कि ढाई-ढाई मिनट तो आप बोलेंगे नहीं, इसलिए आप ही पांच मिनट बोल दीजिए ।

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : शुक्रिया डिप्टी चेयरमैन साहिबा ।

मोहतरमा, आर.एस.एस. के मसले पर हुकूमत की तरफ से और अपोजीशन की तरफ से बहुत ही सजीदा गुफ्तगू हो रही है जो बीच में जज्बातियत का शिकार भी हो जाती है । हम तमाम लोगों का मुश्तरका मकसद है हिन्दुस्तान का तहफ्फुज़ और हिन्दुस्तान में जो अनेकता में एकता का प्रदर्शन है, उसको फ्यूचर में हरहाल में कायम रखना। मगर जिस तरह के इल्ज़ाम-दर-इल्ज़ाम, सच्ची कहानियां, असत्य बातें बहस के दौरान आई हैं, उसमें मैं साफ तौर से यह महसूस करता हूं और कहे बगैर भी नहीं रह सकता कि

*Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the Debate.

जिस सिम्त नज़र उठती है शोला है धुआं है, मैं ढूंढ रहा हूं कि मेरा मुल्क कहां है
एक गंगो-ज़मन ही नहीं इस मुल्क की रौनक, हर लम्हा यहां खून का दरिया भी रवां है

एक तरफ असम में जो कुछ हो रहा है, कश्मीर में जो कुछ हो रहा है, पंजाब में जो कुछ हो रहा है, आतंकवादी शक्तियां जो कुछ इस देश में कर रही हैं, इस देश की तबाही के लिए यही चीजें कुछ कम नहीं हैं। इन हालात में हम तमाम हिन्दुस्तानियों का फर्ज़ यह था कि हम इकट्ठा होकर, मुत्तहिद होकर एक ऐसा प्रोग्राम बनाते जिसमें किसी तंजीम या किसी आरगेनाइज़ेशन से किसी समुदाय को, किसी नहज को, किसी इज्म को कोई खतरा महसूस न होता, मगर आज आर.एस.एस. के सिलसिले में जिन खतरात् को महसूस किया जा रहा है और मुख्तलिफ पार्टियों ने उन खतरात् पर रोशनी डाली है, यह बहुत ही गंभीर मसला है।

मैडम, आर.एस.एस. ने जो कुछ भी किया, उसकी अपनी एक तारीख है । उसकी भलाई की तारीख का भी लोगों ने बयान किया, बुराई की तारीख का भी लोगों ने बयान किया, मगर हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत-ओ-आबरू के मुहाफिज़ महात्मा गांधी थे, जिन्हें एक शख्स की हैसियत से मैं हिन्दुस्तान मानता हूं। वह कल का भी हिन्दुस्तान थे, आज का भी हिन्दुस्तान हैं, आने वाले कंल का भी हिन्दुस्तान रहेंगे । महात्मा गांधी की गर्दन पर छुरी किसने फेरी? महात्मा गांधी का कत्ल किसने किया? एक ऐसी नाकाबिले तरदीद शहादत है जिसके लिए कहीं से भी, कोई भी उंगली नहीं उठा सकता । मिस्टर नाथू राम गोडसे उसी संस्था के एक मैम्बर थे जिसने हिन्दुस्तान में जम्हूरियत और आजादी का चराग़ जलाने वाली शमा को हमेशा के लिए बुझा दिया। खैर, बातें आती गईं, बातें जाती गईं, पाबंदी लगती रही, उठती रही। इस वक्त सवाल यह है कि आखिर सरकारी कर्मचारियों को आर.एस.एस. का मैम्बर न बनाने के लिए लोग क्यों बज़िद हैं? क्या सेंट्रल हुकूमत इन खतरात से वाकिफ नहीं है कि अगर आर.एस.एस. से पाबंदी उठा ली गई तो फिर उन तमाम पार्टीज़ से भी पाबंदी उठानी होगी ... **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : इनका एक प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर है ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : आपने कहा कि महात्मा गांधी का हत्यारा नाथूराम गोडसे संघ का मेंबर था और इस मामले में संस्था से संबंधित था । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब सुप्रीम कोर्ट और सभी न्यायालयों ने इस बात को गलत साबित किया है तो फिर उसे आज यहां दोहराने का कोई अर्थ नहीं है ।

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंघल (उत्तर प्रदेश): मैडम, डेलीब्रेटली हाऊस को मिसलीड किया जा रहा है ।

श्रीमती सविता शारदा (गुजरात): मैडम, मैं एक बात पूछना चाहती हूं । यह जो बार-बार आर.एस.एस. की मेंबरशिप की बात बोल रहे हैं, मैं यह पूछना चाहती हूं कि किसी को कोई रसीद आज तक मिली है क्या? यह तो स्वतः ही संघ परिवार से लोग जुड़ते हैं । उसमें मेंबरशिप नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है । यह मैं बार-बार इन लोगों को समझाना चाहती हूं ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: सवाल यह है कि क्या इनके पास इस बात का कोई सबूत है कि वह आर.एस.एस. का मेंबर था?

***श्री मोहम्मद आज़म खान** (उत्तर प्रदेश): यही सबूत है कि नाथूराम गोडसे आर.एस.एस. का मेंबर था । चूंकि इनकी कोई रसीद नहीं होती है, इसलिए यही सबूत है **...(व्यवधान)**

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH: Madam, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One minute, please. Mr. Manmohan Singh wants to say something.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH: Gopaldas Godse, the co-conspirator and brother of Nathuram Godse, gave an interview to the Frontline on 28th January, 1994 in which it is clearly mentioned that both the brothers were members of the RSS... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI B.P.SINGHAL: ...But the Supreme Court and a High Court of this country are being disbelieved. ...(Interruptions)...

***श्री मोहम्मद आज़म खान** : यही टोन है आर.एस.एस. वालों का । ऐसे ही हैं आर.एस.एस. वाले **...(व्यवधान)**

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक मैंने समझा है, इन लोगों की आइडियोलॉजी **...(व्यवधान)**

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उनके पास कौन सा डॉक्युमेंट है? वही अखबार की कतरन होगी जिसमें से उन्होंने कोट किया है। इतना बड़ा ऐलीगेशन आप इतने बड़े संगठन पर लगा रहे हैं और यह कह रहे हैं कि उन्होंने यह कहा था। गोडसे ने क्या कहा था, इससे हमारा कोई संबंध नहीं है । कोई भी आदमी अपराध करके अपने आपको किसी

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भी पार्टी का सदस्य कह देगा तो क्या आप मान लेंगे? आपके यहां पर किसी ने अपराध कर दिया और कह दिया कि मैं कांग्रेस का मेंबर हूं, ऐसा कहने से क्या आप मान लेंगे? ऑथेंटिकेट करिए आप । अगर आपके पास इसका कोई प्रमाण है, कोई लीगल प्रमाण है तो बताइए।

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH: I have given you the Frontline issue. If it is wrong, I think, I will be guilty. *(Interruptions)*. I have given you the date of the Frontline issue--January 28, 1994. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI: He referred to the Indian Express, the news item which appeared in it.*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: ...You had said 'circular'. 'Indian Express' was an afterthought. If you said 'Indian Express', we would have no problem. You initially said 'circular'. *(Interruptions)*.

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (पश्चिमी बंगाल): मैडम, 'फ्रंटलाईन' में इंटरव्यू छपा है। उसमें साफ तौर से यह बात कही गई है ...**(व्यवधान)**

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैं किसी सरकुलर का हवाला नहीं दे रहा हूं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन लोगों की आइडियोलॉजी यह है कि ...**(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: One second, please. Let me handle it. देखिए, यह डिस्कशन तो होना है क्योंकि चेयरमैन साहब ने परमीशन दी है । सबने परमीशन मांगी थी और सरकार ने अनुमति दी, वह तैयार है । अब यह टोकाटाकी करने से डिस्कशन के अंदर कोई अच्छी चीज तो होगी नहीं और डिस्कशन का रिज़ल्ट भी अच्छा नहीं होगा। उसका मतलब भी कुछ नहीं होगा । यहां जो बेसिक इशू है, उस पर बात करके अगर कोई डिस्कशन आप लोग करें तो बेहतर होगा । कौन मेंबर है, कौन मेंबर नहीं है, किसने सरकुलर दिया, इन बातों से क्या लाभ ? यहां मामला एक सरकुलर का है । अगर उसको मद्देनज़र रखकर आप लोग डिस्कशन करना चाहें तो उस पर बात करें । इसी पर यहां डिस्कशन हो रहा है । घड़ी को तो बदल नहीं सकते । जो वाकयात हो गए, वे हो गए। आयन्दा क्या करना है उस पर चर्चा हो रही है, पास्ट पर तो चर्चा नहीं हो रही है। What was the past is not the point? What should be the future is the main point? What is the present and what should be the future, should be before us, not the past? सो आप मेहरबानी करके अपने पांच मिनट में आयन्दा क्या होना चाहिए उस पर बात कर लीजिए वरना मैं आपको कहूंगी कि बैठ जाइए।

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***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैडम्, इन लोगों की आइडियोलॉजी यही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के इस कल्चर को...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : मैडम्, माननीय सदस्य ने यह जो आरोप लगाया है कि नाथू राम गोडसे आर.एस.एस. का मेंबर था, तो इसके बारे में...**(व्यवधान)**

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी**: रसीद ही नहीं देते बिना टिकट तो आए हैं आप। मैडम्, मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि होम मिनिस्टर साहब...**(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति: देखिए, होम मिनिस्टर साहब जवाब दे देंगे, काफी हिम्मत रखते हैं, जवाब देंगे।.....**(व्यवधान)**

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैडम्, मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि इनकी आइडियोलॉजी यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान का एक ही कल्चर है और वह है हिन्दू कल्चर और उसी कल्चर को सब लोगों को मानना होगा, अपनाना होगा, अलग से किसी को अपने कल्चर और अपनी शनाख्त के साथ कायम रहने का हक यह लोग हिन्दुस्तान में दूसरे मजहब के लोगों को नहीं देना चाहते और उसकी वजह यह है कि जहां-जहां भी दूसरे मुजाहिद लोगों के कल्चर हैं उस कल्चर पर यह हमला करते हैं। जहां-जहां उनकी इबादतगाह हैं उन इबादतगाहों पर वह हमला करते हैं। वह सब आर.एस.एस. के मेंबर्स थे जिन्होंने बाबरी मस्जिद को तोड़ने में नुमाया रोल अदा किया था या कह दें कि वो यह लोग नहीं थे। वहां बाबरी मस्जिद टूट रही थी और वहां उस वक्त कंधे पर बैठ-बैठ करके नंगा नाच हो रहा था आज जो बड़े-बड़े पदों पर यहां बैठे हुए हैं और अपने आपको गर्व से आर.एस.एस. का मेंबर कहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या आर.एस.एस. की तहजीब यह है कि मस्जिद को तोड़ा जाए? क्या आर.एस.एस. की तहजीब यही है कि लोगों को लड़ा करके देश में खून-खराबा पैदा किया जाए? क्या आर.एस.एस. की तहजीब यही है कि एक ईसाई मोबल्लिग़ को एक गाड़ी के अंदर जिन्दा जला कर मार दिया जाए? क्या आर.एस.एस. की तहजीब...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : हम भी बोलना जानते हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**

***मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : काश पूछो कि मुद्दा क्या है। आप बोल चुके हैं, जरा सुनने का भी साहस रखिए। क्या आर.एस.एस. का कल्चर यही है? कौन

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सा आर.एस.एस. का कल्चर है वह जरा मुझे बताया जाए। आर.एस.एस. का कल्चर है मस्जिद तोड़ना,आर.एस.एस. का कल्चर है मस्जिद और मदरसों पर पाबंदी लगाना, आर.एस.एस.का कल्चर है? ईसाई मिशनरियों को प्रचार-प्रसार अपने मजहब का नहीं करने देना आर.एस.एस.का कल्चर है। आखिर जब यह अपना प्रचार और प्रसार करते हैं तो दूसरे मजहब के लोगों को यह प्रचार और प्रसार क्यों नहीं करने देते? यह लोग इतने खतरनाक लोग हैं कि अगर इस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान की अनेकता में एकता का प्रदर्शन करने की उन्होंने इस तरह से कोशिश की, अगर इनके गैर शरीफाना हरकतों को नहीं रोका गया तो यह लोग मुल्क को खत्म कर देना चाहते हैं। इसलिए मेरी गुजारिश प्रधान मंत्री जी से यही है कि जो सर्क्यूलर आया है गुजरात से न सिर्फ उसे वापिस लिया जाए बल्कि जो * कर रहे हैं उस * को भी रोका जाए। जिस तरह से सियासी काले कानून लाकर के तरह-तरह की बोलियां बोलते हैं, एक मुंह हो तो बात करें, दस-दस मुंह की बोली बोली जाती है। प्रकाश जी कुछ कह रहे हैं, प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ कह रहे हैं, होम मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ कह रहे हैं। मैं कहना यह चाहता हूं कि देश-भक्ति का यह तरीका नहीं है कि...**(व्यवधान)** झूंठ को सच साबित करने के लिए यह फासिज्म का तरीका है।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : इनकी यह बंद * कराइए।...**(व्यवधान)**

****श्री मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैडम्, इन लोगों के दो आइडियल हैं। एक का नाम हेटलर है और सेक्युलर पूरी दुनियां के हेटलर को बुरा-भला कहती है। वह हेटलर उनका नुमाइंदा है वह इजरायल इनका रहबर है। मैडम्, मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आर.एस.एस. पर पाबंदी लगाना इस देश के हित में है, वरना हर पार्टी डंडा लेकर के डंडा गुल्ली खेलना शुरू कर देगी। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से भी यह पूछना चाहूंगा कि अगर आर.एस.एस. पर पाबंदी नहीं लगनी चाहिए तो जमायते इस्लामिया को किस बुनियाद पर आप दहशतगर्द कहेंगे, किस बुनियाद पर आप उन जमायतों को रोकेंगे जिन जमायतों के ऊपर आतंकवाद का लेबिल लगाया गया है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी किसी तंजीम को जो कंट्रोवर्सी का शिकार रही है, जिसने इस देश की तहजीब को समाप्त किया है उसे रोकने का पूरा-पूरा इंतजाम होना चाहिए। शुक्रिया।

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*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**Transliteration of the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the Debate.

उपसभापति : बकवास को देखेंगे कि अन-पार्लियामेंटी है तो आपकी तरफ से निकाल दिया जाएगा और उनकी तरफ से भी निकाल दिया जाएगा। अन-पार्लियामेंट्री वर्ड बकवास है निकाल देंगे।

SHRI SOLIPETA RAMACHANDRA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : I thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman, for allowing me to participate in the Short Duration Discussion.

There cannot be two opinions on the discharge of the Constitutional responsibility to protect secularism not only by the Government of India and the State Governments; it is also the responsibility of every patriotic citizen of the country. We have adopted the system of parliamentary democracy, in the best interests of our country. Different parties have come to power ,both in the Centre and in the States, but the administrative set-up continues. A person once appointed in Government service remains there for 25 to 30 years, i.e. till his retirement. The parties voted to power are accountable and answerable to the people. The parties, in power, are thrown out, or, are susceptible to be thrown out of power, whereas the bureaucracy is neither accountable, nor can it be thrown out of power. Hence, our Party is of the firm opinion that the persons who are part of the Administration should be neutral, and no person should be allowed to join an organisation having visible or invisible connections, or links with any political party of the country.

Our Chief Minister has stated unequivocably that the Government of Andhra Pradesh will not allow any employee to join or associate himself with an organisation having links with political parties. We are also glad that our hon. Prime Minister has categorically stated that the Government of India employees will not be allowed to join an organisation having links with political parties.

Madam, the discussion in the House pertains to the Gujarat State Government which has withdrawn the circular, removing the ban imposed on the State Government employees to participate in the activities of the RSS. We feel that the Government of India cannot be blamed for this act of the Gujarat Government. Sir, we cannot deviate from our stand that the Government of India should not exceed its limits while dealing with the States and should confine itself to the provisions of the Constitution and strive hard to protect and strengthen the federal structure but, at the same time, we are unable to accept that the RSS is not having connections with any political

party. Hence, I earnestly appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to prevail upon and advise the Gujarat Government to withdraw its decision of allowing the State Government employees to participate in the activities of the RSS.

Madam, I also appeal, through you, to the Government of Gujarat to maintain the sanctity and neutraility of the Government employees and not allow any Government servant to participate in the activities of organisations including the RSS having connections with political parties.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri C.P. Thirunavukkarasu. What is your short name?

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU (Pondicherry): ARASU.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Next time, please write "ARASU"! ... (Interruptions) ...

AN HON. MEMBER: ARASU, not RSS!

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: Don't have a fear like that. ... *(Interruptions)* ...I will be ARASU, not RSS. ...*(Interruptions)*...Call me 'ARASU'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : 'ARASU' means what?

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: 'ARASU' means "King". ... *(Interruptions)* ... Don't call me "RSS". You call me 'ARASU'.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Why shouldn't we call you "King"?

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: I don't have any objection to that!

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please speak.

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: Madam, I thank you for permitting me to participate in the Short Duration Discussion. The controversy, at present, is whether Government servants can join the RSS and become members of that Organisation. We are not interested in knowing whether the RSS is a social organisation or a political organisation, and we were against Government servants' joining a social organisation having links with a political organisation. The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, wrote, on 9.2.2000, a letter to the Prime Minister of India. I am going to read the same. It is our stand. I quote:

"You may kindly recall that of late, a controversy is being kicked up on the issue of permitting the Government servants to join the RSS. The Government of India as well as the State Governments have already framed the Conduct Rules for Government Servants. "

You are well aware that all the State Governments and the Government of India have, in their rules specifically prohibited Government servants from joining political parties. Granting permission on the plea that an organisation is a social organisation will tend to open the Pandora's box. This will set a precedent for political parties to create their own outfits, under the pretext of social character, to attract Government servants into their fold. Ultimately, it will affect the administrative structure nurtured over a period of time and make inroads into disciplined forces like the Police, the Defence and other important services. This will lead to unnecessary problems. The Government employees are bound by the Constitution and they are responsible to the Government alone. This being so, a situation may arise where employees affiliated to different organistions, working in the same Department, may come into conflict and differences. You will agree with me that Government servants should not indulge in political activities and that the people should not lose faith in the impartial and apolitical functioning of the administrative machinery. We have many more important tasks in nation-building. Our combined energies should not be frittered away on such contentious issues which may distract our attention as well as the attention of the people. I, very sincerely, feel that a consensus may be arrived at, forbidding the Government servants from joining social organisations having links with political parties. So, this letter has been addressed to the Prime Minister. Advaniji also replied in the papers; I have read those papers. It says that the Government servants, especially, the Central Government employees should not join any social organisation. As far as this point is concerned, we are satisfied. But with regard to the Gujarat issue, I would like to say that it is a State subject. The Central Government frames rules for the conduct of Government servants. The State Governments also, independently, frame rules for State subjects. If you are agitated over the matter, then, you raise your voice before the State Government, that is, in the Assembly of the State Government and say, 'This is against the rules, don't do like that.' Instead of doing that, you are raising your voice in Parliament. We are against that. I would like to again say that as far as the other parts are concerned, we are a part and parcel of the National Democratic Alliance. We

are united. We cannot be separated on this simple issue. You had raised your voice while I was reading out. That is a different thing. That is a different stand. At the same time, we are united and you cannot separate us at this juncture. I would like to say that if you try to do that, you will not be able to succeed. Again, I am repeating it. With great respect, I submit that you should raise this issue on the floor of the Gujarat Assembly. Since you lost in the elections, you are side-tracking all the issues. (Interruptions). You are raising this issue unnecessarily at present. Thank you.

श्री नरेश यादंव (बिहार) :उपसभापति महोदया, गुजरात सरकार के द्वारा सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर जो प्रतिबंध लगा हुआ था कि वह आर.एस.एस. के कैंप में नहीं जा सकते हैं, उठा लिया गया जिसके विरोध में आज हम लोग यहां खड़े हैं और माननीय प्रतिपक्ष के नेता डा. मनमोहन सिंह जी ने जो सवाल उठाया था, उस पर अपनी सहमति प्रकट करते हुए दो बातों की ओर माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी और माननीय गृह मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हैं, उनका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं । महोदया, आर.एस.एस. एक सांस्कृतिक संस्था है, यह कहने वाली एक जमात है और आर.एस.एस. एक राजनीतिक संस्था है, यह कहने वाली दूसरी जमात में हम लोग खड़े हैं । अब आर.एस.एस. अगर सांस्कृतिक संस्था होती तो बार-बार यह कहने की आवश्यकता क्यों होती? एक ही पार्टी के लोग बार-बार आर.एस.एस. का पक्ष लेकर क्यों खड़े होते? जब हम यह कहते हैं कि आर.एस.एस. एक राजनीतिक संस्था है, उसे सांस्कृतिक संस्था का नाम देना एक धोखा है। इस पर ज्यादा कुछ और कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि आर.एस.एस. द्वारा कैसा काम इस देश में किया जा रहा है? वे कहते हैं कि वह एक सांस्कृतिक संस्था है। इस देश की संस्कृति तो यही है कि सभी धर्मों के लोग, सभी भाषाओं के लोग मिलकर रहें लेकिन एक धर्म का सहारा लेकर इस देश की महान विभूति राष्ट्रपिता बापू का कत्ल नाथूराम गोडसे द्वारा करवा देना, क्या यही हमारी संस्कृति है? यह संस्कृति नहीं है। ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंघल : मैडम, फिर वही बात आई है ।

श्री नरेश यादव : यह बात फिर नहीं आई है, यह बात स्वतः सिद्ध है । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंघल: मैडम, यह मिथ्या बात बहुत देर से चल रही है । ...(व्यवधान)...

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : यह बात बार-बार आएगी ।

श्री नरेश यादव : इस देश में आर.एस.एस. ने जो काम किया है और उसके द्वारा जो पाप हुआ है, जब तक यह देश रहेगा और इस देश की पार्लियामेंट रहेगी तब तक इस देश को याद रहेगा कि आर.एस.एस. ने राष्ट्रपिता बापू की हत्या की है । इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि यह जघन्य अपराध आपने किया और इसके लिए आपको एक नहीं, हज़ारों लाखों साल तक भुगतना पड़ेगा, यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

महोदया, मैं आपके द्वारा माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि आप पर पूरे देश ने विश्वास किया लेकिन आप क्या एक धर्म की जमात में विश्वास करेंगे? संविधान की सुरक्षा की गारंटी आपके ही जिम्मे है । पार्लियामेंट में आपने शपथ ली है और हम लोग प्रिएम्बल में पढ़ते हैं कि उसमें पंथ निरपेक्षता की व्यवस्था है लेकिन आज संविधान की धज्जी उड़ाई जा रही है, उसकी रक्षा कौन करेगा? आप यहां बैठे हैं, यह आप नहीं करेंगे तो कौन करेगा? बार-बार इस देश को जलाना, इस देश में एक ईसाई डॉक्टर को जला देना, आज भी उसका अभियुक्त दारा सिंह गवाही में है, उसकी तरफदारी कौन सी पार्टी के मैंबर कर रहे हैं, यहं सब साफ है, प्रमाणित है। कौन सी पार्टी के मैंबरों द्वारा कोर्ट में उसकी पैरवी करने की बात हो रही है, यह बात स्पष्ट है। इसलिए महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार क़ा ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश को जलने मत दीजिए । आपने शपथ खाई है संविधान सुरक्षा की, हम सबने भी शपथ खाई है संविधान की इसलिए आज शॉर्ट ड्यूरेशन में इस बात को उठाया है कि संविधान को खतरा है और संविधान के मूलभूत अधिकारों को गुजरात सरकार के द्वारा खतरा पहुंचाया गया है । आज यह गुजरात सरकार ने किया है और उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने भी कहा कि वह भी करने जा रही है । पटना में गृह मंत्री जी का इसके समर्थन में बयान भी आया है । तो बार-बार इस तरह की बातों का आना आखिर क्या है ? आखिर ये देश को आग की लपटों में क्यों ले जाना चाहते हैं? बाबरी मस्जिद को ढहाने के बाद एक बार यह देश आग की लपटों में गया था लेकिन आज देश शांत है । यह इस देश के प्रयासों से हुआ है लेकिन फिर हम यह कहना चाहते हैं कि कम से कम एक धार्मिक संगठन, एक जमात, जो एकदम नैरो व्यू लेकर इस देश को जला देना चाहती है, वह आर.एस.एस. है जिस पर प्रतिबंध लगाया गया है और एक य सरकार के द्वारा उस प्रतिबंध को उठाना देश के साथ अन्याय है । इसलिए महोदया, हम आपके माध्यम से माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करेंगे कि निश्चित तौर से गुजरात सरकार को यहां से निदेश जाना चाहिए कि आपने संविधान विरोधी काम किया है ।

आर.एस.एस. एक प्रतिबंधित संस्था है और उस पर प्रतिबंध लगा रहेगा, यह स्पष्ट है । मेरा मानना यह है कि आर.एस एस. एक सांस्कृतिक संस्था नहीं है, यह एक राजनीतिक संस्था है और वे राजनीति की रोटी सेंकना चाहते हैं । वे राजनीति की रोटी सेंकना बंद करें और देश को जलने से बचाएं । बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to make an announcement that the Home Minister has to be in the Lok Sabha at 4.30 P.M. because there is a discussion on the same issue. So, I would like the Members to finish the discussion fast so that he can reply. I have a lot of names and they have got three minutes, five minutes, like that. So, if you can finish it fast, he can reply. Otherwise, the reply will be tomorrow. It will not be today. (Interruptions).... It is up to you. Okay. Then, we will have the reply tomorrow. Till 4.30 P.M. we will continue the discussion. Then we will let him go. Okay. Shri Janeshwar Misra.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : थैंक यू मैडम । मैं अब की बार जब सदन में आया तो कन्नौज के चुनाव के इलाके से आया था । वहां पर सब लोग मिलकर हमारे उम्मीदवार को हरा रहे थे । यहां आया तो कुछ लोगों को आपस में लड़ते हुए देखा। कोई कहता था पत्थर रख लो छाती पर और कोई कहता था गणेश पूजा करो। सारी राजनैतिक पार्टियां हम लोगों के खिलाफ थीं। वे बातें उन्हीं के साथी अब उजागर कर रहे हैं। लेकिन यहां आकर हमने बड़ी तेजी देखी है, खास तौर से कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से गुजरात के सवाल को उठाते हुए । हम थोड़ी देर समझ नहीं पाए कि मैदान में एकता और सदन में झगड़ा, हम क्या करें? थोड़ी देर तक अपने को दुविधा में रखे रहे । फिर हमारे साथियों ने कहा कि क्या करोगे? हमने कहा कि हल्ला मचाओ, खड़े होओ क्योंकि आर.एस.एस. से हम लोगों का बुनियादी झगड़ा है। जब हम लोग लड़के थे, यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ते थे, सिंहल साहब बैठे हैं, हमसे सीनियर थे, जब झगड़ा करते थे सोचकर करते थे, ऐसा नहीं है कि बिना सोचकर करते थे। एक दिन हमारे आजम साहब ने एक शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया, वह शब्द फासिस्ट था और उस पर व्यवस्था दी गई अध्यक्ष महोदय की तरफ कि किसी को फासिस्ट मत कहो । हमने पंजाब केसरी अखबार पढ़ा है, उसकी एक नोट है, उसे और लोग भी पढ़ लें । एक बहुत बड़े शिक्षाविद, इटली के, उन्होंने बताया कि किस तरह से मुसोलिनी से हेडगेवार साहब के रिश्ते थे और संगठन को उसी ढांचे पर ले जाने की कोशिश की जा रही है ...(**व्यवधान**) मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि उस समय हमें भी लगा था कि शायद आजम साहब ज्यादा बोल गए लेकिन इस आर्टिकल को पढ़ने के बाद महोदया, मैं इस राय का हो गया कि कहीं न कहीं सोच में एकता जरूर है,

संगठन भी उसी तरह का बनाया जा रहा है । केंद्र सरकार की तरफ से तो कई संगठन हैं जिनके कर्मचारी या काम करने वाले, सरकारी कर्मचारियों में नहीं शामिल हो सकते या इसकी गतिविधियों में हिस्सा नहीं ले सकते । वे केवल राष्ट्रीय सेवक संघ नहीं हैं। जमायते इस्लाम, विश्व हिंदू परिषद्, हिंदू महासभा, आनंद मार्ग कई संगठन हैं, लगभग 16,17 संगठन हैं । क्या वजह है कि गुजरात सरकार ने राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के लिए मंजूरी दे दी अपने कर्मचारियों को ? अगर दिल चौड़ा होता तो सबके लिए दरवाजे खोल देते । शक इसलिए आप पर होता है, इस शक को समझने की कोशिश करें कि आप जिस जमात से जुड़े हो उसी के लिए दरवाजे खोल रहे हो, तब लोग उंगली उठाने लगे हैं । यह कहा जा सकता है कि यहां कोई ट्रिब्यूनल बैठा है । हम समझते हैं कि आडवाणी जी उसका जिक्र करेंगे । गुजरात की सरकार जिक्र करती है कि जिन संगठनों पर प्रतिबंध है, सरकारी कर्मचारियों के हिस्सा लेने पर, उस ट्रिब्यूनल की छह वर्ष से रिपोर्ट नहीं आई तो उसे पहले ही राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ ने क्लीन चिट दे दी । यह सारी बहस कानूनी तौर पर नहीं हो सकती लेकिन क्या यह संविधान के अनुकूल हो रहा है, आप खुद सोचिए ? राजनीतिक पार्टियों को छूट दे दी, अपने मन के कर्मचारी रखें । इन कर्मचारियों के बारे में सोचें कि इनके भाग्य का फैसला क्या होगा ? कमिटड ब्यूरोक्रेसी कभी भी मुल्क का भला नहीं करती । मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस समय जो लोग सत्ता में हैं, गुजरात के बारे में प्रधानमंत्री जी ने एक दिन कर दिया था कि गुजरात में जो हुआ ठीक ही हुआ । जब इनके साथियों ने ऐतराज किया चेन्नई से, हैदराबाद से उन्होंने समझ लिया कि यह मामला तो लड़खड़ा जाएगा तो इन्होंने उसको तरमीम किया। गृह मंत्री जी ने एक तरह से इशारा किया । मैं यह जान बूझ कर इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि आपस में यह लोग जो बयान करें, सत्ता चला रहे हैं, बहुमत में हैं जोड़-तोड़ कर के, लेकिन यह लोग राष्ट्रपति महोदय को भी घसीट लेते हैं। गुजरात के मामले पर राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने कुछ प्रधानमंत्री जी से पूछा होगा बातचीत के दौरान, उन्होंने ऐतराज किया होगा । उस बात को आर्गेनाइज़र अखबार ने छाप दिया। राष्ट्रपति महोदय को भी कह दिया कि यह कांग्रेस के पिछलग्गु हो गये। कल को हम को भी कह दिया जाएगा। उतना ही नहीं, जब यह कहा गया कि यह अखबार क्यों बोल रहा है तो इन भाजपा के लोगों ने, माथुर साहब ने कहा कि यह हमारा अखबार नहीं है, आर.एस.एस. का अखबार है । तब तक भाजपा के मुख्य पत्र में छप गया। भाजपा का एक पत्र निकलता है भाजपा समाचार, उसके 16 से 29 फरवरी के ताजा अंक में छपा है, उसमें भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय को घसीट लिया गया । महामहिम का, राष्ट्रपति महोदय का ओहदा ही इसलिए होता है, यह संस्था ही इसलिए है कि अगर कोई मुद्दा या ऐसी बात होती है तो उसकी तरफ अंगुली उठाएं और सरकार से

पूछें, अपनी राय ज़ाहिर करें। इस तरह से टिप्पणी की जाने लगेगी सरकारी पार्टी के समाचार पत्रों की तरफ से तो लोकतंत्र के लिए बहुत ही खतरनाक बात हो जाएगी। हम चाहेंगे कि प्रधानमंत्री जी इस पर स्पष्टीकरण दें। यह गृह मंत्री के स्पष्टीकरण की बात नहीं है । भाजपा के समाचार पत्र के ताजा अंक 16 से 29 फरवरी में राष्ट्रपति पर हमला क्यों बोला गया? इस तरह से अगर वारदात होने लगेगी तो लोकतंत्र खतरे में पड़ जाएगा। अब आप हमसे पूछ सकते हैं कि बार बार हम लोग आर.एस.एस. पर अंगुली क्यों उठाते हैं। माननीय रामदास अग्रवाल जी ने कहा कि लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी ने कहा कि आओ देश की मदद करो। ऐसा नहीं है कि आपको हम देश का दुश्मन मानते हैं । लेकिन 6 दिसम्बर, 1992 के घटना के बाद आप खुद सोचिये । गांधी जी की हत्या के लिए आप पर अंगुली उठती है, हम पर क्यों नहीं उठती, मनमोहन सिंह जी पर क्यों नहीं उठती, उस समय के नेता लोग थे डा. लोहिया और जयप्रकाश नारायण जी पर क्यों नहीं उठी, डांगे जी पर क्यों नहीं उठी? क्यों आपके नेताओं पर उठी? आप अपनी तरफ से विवेचना कीजिये। ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री ललितभाई मेहता (गुजरात): वह हमारा नेता नहीं था और न आर.एस.एस. का कार्यकर्ता था।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : इस समय यहां पर जितने लोग बैठे हैं इनमें से कई लोगों पर गांधी हत्याकांड का मुकदमा चल चुका है। ...**(व्यवधान)** बरी हो गये, यह अलग चीज़ है ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : किसी पर भी नहीं चला। यह असत्य बात बोल रहे हैं।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : आर.एस.एस.के तमाम लोग हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : गांधी जी की हत्या का किसी भी आर.एस.एस. के व्यक्ति पर मुकदमा नहीं चला था।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र: मुकदमा चला था। मिसेज गांधी ने इन लोगों को प्रतिबंधित किया था इमरजेंसी के दौरान, हम लोगों ने इसको अच्छा नहीं कहा क्योंकि अपनी कुर्सी को बचाने के लिए उन्होंने इस संगठन को प्रतिबंधित किया था । उनकी तरफ से कहा जा रहा था कि यह बड़े भारी रयुमर मोंगर हैं, इनकी फुसफसाहट बड़ी तेज होती है । यह लोग उस समय हमारे दोस्त थे । हम लोग उस समय कहते थे कि यह गलत आरोप है । लेकिन जिस तरह से गणेश की मूर्ति को दूध पिलाया गया, हमने आपकी फुसफसाहट देखी

है, बड़े गज़ब की फुसफुसाहट है।...(**व्यवधान**) कर्मचारियों में यह फुसफसाहट करो, तादाद में जो लोग कमज़ोर हैं, वह इनको देख कर के सहम जाया करते हैं । यह इनकी सहमी सहमी चाल अगर बढ़ती चली गई, सरकारी कर्मचारियों में बढ़ती चली गई तो यह बड़ी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात होगी । इसलिए मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी से और गृह मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह गुजरात सरकार पर दबाव डालें । इनके मित्र लोग भी इनसे निवेदन कर रहे हैं जो इनकी सरकार का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। ये दबाव डालें कि इस तरह का कोई भी आदेश या सरकुलर जारी हुआ है तो उसको वापस ले। धन्यवाद।

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : मैडम इसमें एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं। एक भी राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के सदस्य का नाम बता दें जिस पर गांधी हत्याकांड का मुकदमा चला था। यह इन्होंने कहा है। एक भी सदस्य का नाम बताएं, मैं इनको चुनौती देता हूं।

श्री नरेश यादव : कार्यकर्ता का प्रमाण क्या है?

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : छोड़िए, गोडसे मेम्बर था?

उपसभापति : श्री ब्रह्मकुमार भट्टजी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपके पास रसीद कहां है?

उपसभापति : अच्छा अब बैठिए...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : कोर्ट की प्रोसीडिंग पढ़ लीजिए। पढ़े लिखे हैं इतना तो कर सकते हैं ...(**व्यवधान**) अपने नेता डा. राम मनोहर लोहिया को पढ़ लीजिए ।

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल: अगर प्रमाण नहीं है तो आरोप किस आधार पर लगा रहे हैं।

श्री नरेश यादव : आप आर.एस.एस. के पक्ष में खड़े हैं, नाथूराम गोडसे के पक्ष में खड़े हैं। आप खुद आरोपित हैं इसलिए...(**व्यवधान**)

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : हम यह कहें कि बिहार के सब गुंडों के पक्ष में खड़े हैं ...(**व्यवधान**)

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी : बिहार में सारे गुंडों को टिकट किन लोगों ने दिया है? क्या बात कर रहे हैं ...(**व्यवधान**)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: अच्छा अब बैठिए आजमी साहब....Now we are not discussing who got the *bahumat* and who didn't get it. We are

4.00 P.M

discussing a different issue. ब्रह्मकुमारजी, आप गुजरात के हैं आप बोल दीजिए।

SHRI BRAHMAKUMAR BHATT (Gujarat): Madam Vice-Chairman, I don't want to refer to Gandhiji's murder or Godse or such other things. I want to draw the attention of this House to certain facts which are on record. After the Gujarat Government removed the ban on Government servants, including bureaucrats, from joining the RSS, obviously, the Prime Minister, when he was on an election tour, was asked by the Press to comment on this. I myself saw it on T.V. In a very short reply, he has said, "it is a cultural organisation". I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether he considers RSS something like the *Swadhyaya Parivar* or something like the Ramakrishna Mission or any other cultural organisation of that type. If that is so, then the question will arise as to why the ban is continuing in the Central Government, if he considers it as a cultural organisation. Then, what prevents the Government of India from removing the ban in each State? That is the main question. Madam, the point that it must have been in the minds of those who are in power, "Yes, let Gujarat be a litmus test. Let us see what is happening there. Let us see what the reactions are from the people, from different political parties and from the alliance partners, and then we will think of proceeding further". So, this

whole thing has started from Gujarat. It is only when the alliance partners, namely, the DMK, the Samata and the TDP, pressurised the Government and openly told the Prime Minister through the Press and the electronic media that they don't agree with this and that they want the Gujarat Government to withdraw this circular, the hon. Prime Minister issued a circular and told the Press that so far as the Government of India is concerned, the ban continues. This is the position.

Madam, now, the question is very simple. If we open the flood-gates by allowing the Government servants to join the RSS, let us see what will happen to the police officers. If the police is allowed to join the RSS, if there is a riot, if there is some disturbance and there is a crowd on both sides, and the police, then we cannot say what will happen. Anything can happen. If they are partisan in this sort of thing and they have their own ideas of culture, then anything can happen to the persons in uniform who are in the RSS. Even among the bureaucrats, there are two types; those who are

in the IAS and those who are in the Gujarat State Administrative Services. One is banned because he is under the All-India Service, but the other is not banned. But he also can be promoted as an IAS. This sort of an anomaly will arise even if the Government servant joins or does not join the RSS. Madam, coming to the problem of culture and cultural organisation, there was a recent incident in Ahmedabad ten days back. There was an extended portion in some part of the temple and there was an encroachment right on the road; that was demolished by the Municipal Corporation of Ahmedabad, which is controlled by the BJP. The Mayor is an educated lady. The encroachment was removed at the instruction and orders of the Municipal Corporation, that is, the Mayor. But the Sangh Parivar people forcibly entered the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, when a meeting was being held on the Budget. They entered the Gandhi Hall which is the premises for the meeting and told the Mayor, "Come out". "बाहर निकलो तुम "

She then entered her own chamber rather than coming out. With all the police officers there, with all the security force, they entered the Mayor's chamber and ransacked the chamber. All the glasses were broken and she was addressed in a filthy language which is not proper for any cultural organisation or cultural person to speak. A lady belonging to their organisation was addressed as a 'biwi'. She was terrorised but she boldly said that because it was an illegal construction on the road and an encroachment, therefore, it was removed, but the Mandir was not touched. They were not ready to hear this. She was so much terrorised that even the other Members were not allowed to go and enter the Chamber of the Mayor. Madam, my submission is, my only fear is, if this is the culture of the Sangh organisation, what are we heading for? The hon. Prime Minister and the Home Minister may kindly note that a newspaper like 'The Hindustan Times' in Delhi had written an editorial on 24th February condemning the vandalism perpetrated on the Mayor of Ahmedabad. Now, if this is culture, I would request the hon. Prime Minister to please consider this aspect. If the Sangh Parivar continues like this, then what will happen to the democratic set up of this country where the freedom of speech and other Fundamental Rights are guaranteed? What will happen to all that? This fabric of Indian democracy will be jeopardised. Let us consider this seriously. This is what I would like to submit to the hon. Prime Minister.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Home Minister has sent word that since, tomorrow, there will be the presentation of the Budget and he

will be busy with a Cabinet meeting, he would rather reply today. So, I think it is better that we finish the discussion today. Please try to abide by the time-limit.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Respected Madam, I am grateful to you for having allowed me to participate in this discussion. The decision taken by the Gujarat Government * of amending the Service Conduct Rules and allowing the Government servants there, and even the Police personnel...

SHRI LALITBHAI MEHTA : The Service Conduct Rules have not been changed. The only thing was that there was a circular by the State Government. Now, the State of Gujarat came into existence in the year 1960. Till 1986, we had Congress Governments there. The ban was put by the then Congress Government in 1986. Now, only that ban has been lifted by the State Government of Gujarat.

SHRI J. CHITHARANJAN: By lifting the ban, the Government servants in Gujarat are allowed to become members of the RSS and participate in its activities. That is what is being allowed. That is a very serious matter because it will not only affect the democratic and secular polity of Gujarat, but it will also endanger the democratic and secular polity of the whole of India. That is why we are so much annoyed at this and we wanted to raise this issue and have a discussion here. We are all proud that since independence, we have succeeded in building up a democratic structure and democracy is prevailing here, democratic institutions are prevailing here, elections are taking place at regular intervals. One reason for this is that we have all along seen to it that the Government machinery -- the bureaucrats and the Government servants as a whole -- keeps political neutrality. They shall not become members of any political party. Along with that, they were also forbidden from joining certain other organisations which were considered to be dangerous. Therefore, there is a provision -- section 16 of the Central Government Service Conduct Rules -- according to which this thing is prohibited. Now, the Gujarat Government has gone against that. Their action is not in conformity with the general rule. In all the other States and in the Central Government, the same procedure is being continued. Gujarat is the only State which has taken this decision. As far as I understand, and as

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

mycolleague from Gujarat has said, there is a peculiar situation. In the Centre, there is a Government which has to again and again claim that it is a Government of the National Democratic Alliance and that the programme is that of the National Democratic Alliance. Therefore, through the Central Government, the policies of the RSS could not be implemented or the hindutva agenda could not be implemented. But in Gujarat, they have absolute majority. When that Government does it, the Central Government says that as Central Government we do not interfere in any actions taken by State Governments.

Immediately after it was done there, the all-India leadership of the RSS had come forward with a demand that it should be approved by the Government of India also. in the beginning, our Prime Minister and also the Home Minister made certain statements whereby the people were given to suspect that there was a possibility of that being considered. Our Prime Minister said that it is a cultural organisation, and our Home Minister said that there is nothing illegal in the activities of the RSS, as has been said by the Appellate Tribunal. But, afterwards, of course, there was a tremendous opposition mounting up against it; there was opposition from the constituents of the NDA. Therefore, now, the Prime Minister has stated that this will not be adopted in the case of the government of India. What I would like to know is, what exactly the stand of the Government of India is. They should make a categorical declaration that they stand by clause 16 of the government Service Conduct rules, that is will not be diluted, and that they will persuade the Gujarat Government to change it. That will have to be done by the central government, or else, one cannot believe that this Government is trying to carry on in such a way where the administration is kept politically neutral.

Madam, the surprising thing is, one RSS leader, mr. Sheshadri, has gone to the extent of saying that the decision taken by the gujarat Government is right, but at the same time, he differs with the decision taken about the police officials being brought into its ambit. His objection is only to the inclusion of police in it. Anyhow, he has, at least, that much consideration. At the same time, if thegovernment employees, as a whole, the police machinery and the military are politicised -- there is a suspicion that attempts are going on to politicise them -- the future of our country is doomed, our democratic structrue, the unity of our country and secularism of India will e in danger. That will be the greatest danger India will face. it is to be seen, especially, in the context of several other developments.

Madam in the morning, in the Question Hour, a discussion took place about the shooting of the film 'Water'and the banning of it. Then, the Minister eleverly replied and said, "Of course, we have given the permission by the authorities concerned, who is to take a decision whetehr thescript can be allowed, whether the film shooting should be carrid on? After having taken a decision, if some people take law into their own hands -- they may have objection,s they may protest against it -- I am not against it -- they may raise their protests peacefully -- and carry on vandalism, what shall the Government do? if the State government conives with that, or, the State Government closes its eyes to it, then, in that case, what shall the Central Government do? Madam, same is the case with regard to withdrawing of the history books by the ICHR. I don't want to go into all these details. There are many such things, like attacks on minorities, etc. In a background like that, this question assumes much more importance. Therefore, I would like to appeal to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to make a categorical declaration in this matter.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU (Tamil Nadu): Thank you, Madam. A sensitive issue is being discussed here. Cutting across party-lines, the demand is that the Government should lay down a definite and categorical rule; that the Government should be above politics; and, that the Government must be neutral and impartial. These three things will have to be assured to the nation. Then alone the fabric of the Government will stand.

Madam, Government is a permanent institution. Parties with different ideologies, may come and go, but the institution, as such, has to be safeguarded. As and when a party comes to power, if it wants to introduce its own ideology and policies, then the fabric of the Government itself would be destroyed. In this perspective, the policies are to be seen, approved and accepted. Now, Madam, when a Government is there, whether Central or State, there are several communities, several religions and several persons belonging to various concepts of religion. If a Government takes a partial view, -- in this case if the RSS ideology is infiltrated into the governance -- then what would happen to communal harmony?

If there is any communal trouble, whether this Government is backed by the RSS, or some other communal organisation, for that matter, -- for BJP it may be RSS; for other Governments it may be other communal organisations -- then, such things will not safeguard the nation. There will,

always, be a danger, and that danger has to be curtailed. The Prime Minister should take a definite stand on the issue and set down guidelines for the entire nation so that the Government is kept above politics.

It is rather unfortunate to point out certain matters. In the 'Hindustan Times', New Delhi, an article, 'Like it or not, RSS is political' by Dr. Goel, has appeared. The Prime Minister is reportedly quoted as saying, 'RSS is not a political outfit. It is a cultural and social organisation and I do not think objections should be raised to anybody joining it.' This is a dangerous trend. It will send a wrong signal to the nation. Now, of course, with pressure from their own alliance parties like the DMK, TDP and Samata, the Central Government has changed its policy and they now say that the Central Government would abide by that view. That is not sufficient. In Gujarat, the BJP Government is functioning. Here, in the Centre too, it is the BJP Government. If the BJP Government were to take a stand ...*(Interruptions)*...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, it is not the BJP Government; it is the NDA...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: If the Central Government were to say that it will not interfere with the functioning of the Gujarat Government, then it will send a very wrong signal to the nation. Recently, it has been reported in the 'Hindustan Times,' dated 10th February, 2000, 'Following the lines, even the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu said that there is nothing wrong in Government servants joining the RSS...' *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: A point of order, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: I am reading from a newspaper. You can defend your point later. ...*(Interruptions)*... You listen to me and later you can question it. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Your leader has supported the *kar seva* when they demolished the Babri masjid. That is also an issue. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: We are on a different issue. What I am saying is...*(Interruptions)*... There is no point in making such untenable arguments. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, the Chief Minister of Tamil

Nadu, in a press statement the next day, said that it was a false statement. He has given that statement. The statement clearly said that the DMK stood for secularism.... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: There is no point of order. There is no substance in it. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Therefore, it is unwarranted. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I was a bit surprised to see that when he was speaking there were no problems. But I was expecting this sometime or the other....*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, he is quoting a wrong statement....*(Interruptions)*...This statement was corrected. ...*(Interruptions)*... He is hiding the truth. ...*(Interruptions)*... He is misleading the House.

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: No, I am not misleading the House. ...*(Interruptions)* .. I am only quoting from a newspaper...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Following the statement of the Prime Minister, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu said that there was nothing wrong...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Again it is a wrong statement. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Please allow me to speak. ...*(Interruptions)*... You just listen to me. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, here I am the group leader of the DMK. ....*(Interruptions)*...I can say that we will never compromise with the principle of secularism. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: What was your earlier stand? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: This has always been our stand. ...*(Interruptions)*... Even in our election manifesto we clearly stated

about the rights of the minorities. ...*(Interruptions)*... Even two days before...*(Interruptions)*... Even two days before....*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Enough is enough. ...*(Interruptions)*... We are not discussing the letter of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. ...*(Interruptions)*... So, we should not unnecessarily take the time of the House on an issue which is not an issue. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: I am referring to ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whatever you are saying, if it is being disputed, fine, it is okay. It is a part of the record. You continue with your next point. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Madam, I am referring to the two standards ...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Again and again he is saying the same thing. ...*(Interruptions)*... You just went to a TV channel. ...*(Interruptions)*... This is the reaction of that statement. ...*(Interruptions)*..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Virumbi, please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: The Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has categorically denied the report referred to by Mr. Alphonse...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Just wait for a few minutes...*(Interruptions)*...Just wait for a few minutes...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is also denying the statement...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI R. MARGABANDU: Madam, I am quoting. It says, "The leader of the T.M.C. said, it is not surprising to see Mr. Karunanidhi contradicting himself since he was under compulsion to ensure the continuance of the Government at the State and at the Centre." It also says, "Mr. Karunanidhi stated that if the Muslim League was not 'communal', how the R.S.S. could be called as 'communal." It is only thereafter, when the criticism arose from all quarters, then the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu had backtracked and issued a statement. It says, "The DMK's 'U' turn" "Caught

on the wrong foot on Tuesday on the issue of Government servants being Members of the R.S.S., the Chief Minister, Mr. Karunanidhi, today, quickly backtracked and urged the Prime Minister to dissuade the Gujarat and the U.P. Governments from allowing the Government servants to join the R.S.S." So, this is his stand. What I am appealing to the hon. Prime Minister is, the Prime Minister should send a very good signal to the nation that the Government is above party and there should be proper guidelines in the Government that it should be above politics and the 'communal things' should not enter into the Government. Otherwise, the entire Government fabric is torn up. So, I appeal to the hon. Prime Minister, in view of the pressure from your own allied parties, to see that a good signal is sent to the nation that the communal forces should not enter into the Government. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, there are still two to three minutes to 4.30 pm. I want to take the sense of the House. At 4.30 pm a suo motu statement about the hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight by the Foreign Minister is listed in the Business. If the House so agrees, we will take it up after this discussion is over so that we can put it in a proper order...*(Interruptions)*...Tamil Nadu has taken a lot of time. All the battles of Tamil Nadu are fought in the Rajya Sabha!...*(Interruptions)*...Why don't you do this in the State Assembly?...*(Interruptions)*...They do it over here. चर्चा तो कर लेंगे, लेकिन जवाब भी तो आना चाहिए।

श्री दीपाकंर मुखर्जी: मैडम, चर्चा करेंगे।

उपसभापति : इसीलिए चर्चा थोड़ी कोम्प्रेस कर लें। श्री सतीश चन्द्र सीताराम प्रधान ।

श्री सतीशचन्द्र सीताराम प्रधान : धन्यवाद महोदया, मैं सबसे पहले डॉ. मनमोहन सिंह जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि उन्होंने आज इस विषय पर चर्चा शुरू की है। इस विषय पर शिव सेना के ख्यालात और मेरे स्वयं के ख्यालात बिल्कुल साफ हैं। हमारा यह कहना है कि जो भी व्यक्ति हिन्दुस्तान में रहता है। हमारा जो संविधान है, उसके मुताबिक उसको मत देने का अधिकार प्राप्त होता है और यदि उसको मत देने का अधिकार प्राप्त है तो इसका मतलब है कि उसको अपने स्वतंत्र विचार रखने का भी अधिकार प्राप्त होता है । इसलिए हर व्यक्ति को अपने स्वतंत्र राजनीतिक विचार रखने का अधिकार प्राप्त होना चाहिए, होता है और है । इस विषय पर दो मत नहीं हो सकते और दो मत होने की आवश्यकता भी नहीं है। आर.एस.एस. के संबंध में जब हम विचार करना

शुरू करते हैं तो यह भी देखने की आवश्यकता होती है कि क्या आर.एस.एस. चुनाव आयोग के पास रजिस्टर्ड पार्टी है और यदि कोई पार्टी चुनाव आयोग के पास रजिस्टर्ड नहीं है तो क्या उसको राजनीतिक पार्टी, राजनीतिक दल कहकर संबोधित करके उस पर यह ठप्पा लगाने का हमें या किसी को कानून की व्यवस्था में अधिकार प्राप्त है? यदि वह अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं है तो हम ऐसा ठप्पा लगाकर उस पार्टी का या उसके सदस्यों का जीना हराम कर दें, ऐसी व्यवस्था करने का क्या इस सदन को अधिकार प्राप्त है या नहीं, इस विषय पर भी प्रकाश डालने की आवश्यकता है। कुछ दिन पहले जब से इस विषय पर चर्चा शुरू हुई, उसी समय मेरे एक दोस्त हैं, यू.एन.आई. में जो न्यूज़ रिलीज़ हुई थी, उस विषय की जानकारी उन्होंने दी। यदि यह मामला सच है तो यह बहुत गंभीर है और सदन में बैठे हुए सभी सदस्यों को गौर से इस विषय पर ध्यान देना है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि मध्य प्रदेश में दमोह में एक बैंक मैनेजर रहता था । उसका नाम निर्मल कुमार जैन था । यह निर्मल कुमार जैन बैंक में मैनेजर थे । एक दिन अचानक जब इमरजैंसी थी, तो उनको बंद करके जेल में डाल दिया गया । कोर्ट ने उनको छोड़ दिया। छोड़ने के बाद फिर से दुबारा उनके ऊपर केस डाला गया और फिर से उनको जेल में बंद किया गया । 11 साल तक मुकद्दमा चलता रहा और 11 साल के बाद क्योंकि बैंक वालों ने उनके खिलाफ पूरे सबूत नहीं दिये, उनको बाइज्जत बरी कर दिया गया। फिर कोर्ट के आदेश के बादजूद भी आज की तारीख तक श्री निर्मल कुमार जैन को बैंक ने वापिस नहीं लिया और बैंक ने कहा कि बैंक के आस-पास घूमते हुए भी आप दिखाई नहीं देने चाहिए । उन्होंने फिर से अदालत का दरवाजा खटखटाया । जवाब आया कि आप इधर-उधर कहीं नहीं जा सकते, आपको नौकरी नहीं मिलेगी । उनके घर की स्थिति बड़ी विकट हो गयी । वह आर.एस.एस. का सदस्य था । कानून के मुताबिक जो कुछ होना था, वह तो होना ही था लेकिन कानून के बाहर हम जो राजनीति करने वाले यहां बैठे हुए सदस्य हैं, हमें यह भी देखना चाहिए कि अगर हम किसी के ऊपर अंगुली उठाते हैं तो किसी को भी किसी का घर उजाड़ने का अधिकार नहीं है । मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि उनकी बेटी को आत्महत्या करनी पड़ी । हम लोग राजनीति खेलते हैं लेकिन एक-दूसरे का घर उजाड़ने के लिए अगर राजनीति खेलते हो तो यह राजनीति बंद करो, यह मैं आप सबसे कहना चाहता हूं । ...(**व्यवधान**)... जब आप बोल रहे थे तो मैं चुप बैठा था, अब मैं बोल रहा हूं तो आपका फर्ज़ है कि आप सुनें । मैडम, अभी यहां कमिटेड ब्यूरोक्रेसी की बात की गई । जब इमरजेंसी थी तो कमिटेड ज्यूडीशियरी की बात भी की गई थी । अभी यहां भारद्वाज जी नहीं हैं लेकिन कमिटेड ज्यूडीशियरी की बात इस देश में चली थी और यह बात जिसने की, इसका उत्तरदायित्व भी उन्हीं को उठाना पड़ेगा और उनको कहना पड़ेगा कि यह क्या है? कमिटेड ज्यूडीशियरी अभी नहीं चाहिए, यह मानने के लिए पहले तैयार हो जाइए और

बाद में कमिटेड ब्यूरोक्रेसी की बात कीजिए ।

मैडम, आर.एस.एस. के बारे में दो-तीन बातें और कहना चाहूंगा । आर.एस.एस. ने एक सोशल ऑर्गेनाइज़ेशन की हैसियत से काम किया । दिल्ली की व्यवस्था खराब हो गई तो आर.एस.एस. वहां दौड़ी । उड़ीसा में आपदा आई तो सभी अखबारों में छपा कि वहां आर.एस.एस. के स्वयंसेवक सबसे पहले पहुंचे। आंध्र प्रदेश में आपदा आई तो आर.एस.एस. के स्वयंसेवक वहां भी पहुंच गए । जब-जब किसी पर विपरीत परिस्थिति आई तो ये आर.एस.एस. के लोग दौड़े । महाराष्ट्र में लातूर में भूकम्प आया तो आर.एस.एस. के स्वयंसेवक वहां पहुंचे, बाकी सब चर्चा कर रहे थे । महोदया, मैं यहां यह बताना चाहता हूं कि आर.एस.एस. के बारे में हमारे बुज़ुर्गों ने क्या कहा था । यह किताब मेरे एक दोस्त ने मुझे दी कि जब यह विषय विशेष चर्चा के लिए आएगा, उस वक्त यह काम आएगी । बंगलौर के एक शेषाद्रि जी हैं जिन्होंने 1988 में एक बुक पब्लिश की थी । पब्लिश होने के बाद आज तक इस बुक के बारे में किसी ने कोई आपत्ति नहीं की है, इसका मतलब यह है कि इसमें जो लिखा है वह सच होना चाहिए । इसको और किसी दूसरे प्रमाण-पत्र की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी । महात्मा गांधी जी ने 1934 में वर्धा में जब भेंट की थी तब वहां जो इंसिडेंट हुआ था, वह मैं बता रहा हूं ।

"The efficacy of this approach began manifesting itself right from the early stages of the Sangh. In 1934, when Gandhiji visited a 1,500-strong Swayamsevaks' camp at Wardha, he was pleasantly surprised to find that the Swayamsevaks were not even aware of the castes of one another, not to speak of any ideas of untouchability. The incident had left such a deep impression on Gandhiji's mind that he referred to it a full 13 years later. In his address to the workers of Sangh in Bhangi Colony, Delhi on 16th September 1947, he said, 'I visited the RSS camp years ago when the Founder, Hedgewar, was alive. I was very much impressed by yourdiscipline, the complete absence of untouchability and the rigorous simplicity. Since then the Sangh has grown."

डॉ. बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर जी ने भी इस बारे में कुछ कहा -

"Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar too when he visited Sangh Shiksha Varga in 1939 in Pune, was surprised to find the Swayamsevaks moving about in absolute equality and brotherhood without even caring to know the caste of the others."

यह डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने कहा था । कश्मीर में भी इन्होंने बहुत काम किया ।

"At the diplomatic level at the Centre, too, Sangh had made certain

moves in the crucial mid-October days. Sardar Patel, knowing the mind of the Maharaja, had pitched upon Shri Guruji to talk to him. Shri Guruji, he knew, commanded the implicit confidence of the Maharaja. Shri Guruji flew to Srinagar on 17th October 1947. He brought home to the Maharaja the futility of harbouring any idea of retaining Kashmir as an independent kingdom and advised him to join Bharat straightway. Finally, the Maharaja expressed his readiness to sign the Instrument of Accession to Bharat. Shri Guruji returned to New Delhi on 19th October and reported to Sardar Patel about the Maharaja's readiness to accede to Bharat."

उपसभापति : प्रधान जी...डोंट डिस्टर्ब...**(व्यवधान)** प्रधान जी, बस समय का ध्यान रखिएगा, आपके तीन मिनट हैं और दो स्पीकर हैं, जल्दी खत्म कीजिए ।

श्री सतीश प्रधान : मैडम, बस दो-तीन कुटेशन और देकर मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं।

उपसभापति : तीन कुटेशन ओ.के. ।

श्री सतीश प्रधान : मैडम जम्मू हवाई अड्डे की हालत उस समय खराब हो गई और उसी समय जम्मू हवाई अड्डे के बारे में भी "Once the backbone of internal saboteurs was broken, the Swayam Sevaks took up the urgent task of broadening the Jammu aerodrome. 500 Swayam Sevaks toiled round-the-clock for seven days and made the aerodrome ready for the Indian Dakotas to land." और जैसा कि यहां बताया गया था कि भारत के उस समय के प्रधानमंत्री "Pandit Nehru was so much impressed that he invited the Sangh contingent to take part in the Republic Day Parade of 26th January, 1963. At a mere two-day notice, over 3,000 Sangh Sevaks smartly turned up at the Parade in full Sangh uniform. Their massive march, in fact, became the major highlight of the programme. "यह उस समय हुआ था और मैडम इसी संघ के बारे में और दो-चार बातें ऐसी हैं जो पुरखों ने, बहुत बड़े-बड़े लोगों ने बताई हैं ...**(व्यवधान)** ।

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी: मुझे तो भविष्य बताने के बारे में कहा गया है...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री सतीशचन्द्र सीताराम प्रधान : हां, हां, आपके भविष्य की भी चिन्ता करनी पड़ेगी।

"When I visited the RSS camp, I was impressed by your discipline

and complete absence of untouchability." यह किसने कहा था ? यह महात्मा गांधी जी ने 16 दिसम्बर, 1947 में कहा था ।

"I am surprised to find the Swayam Sevaks moving about in absolute equality and brotherhood without even caring to know the caste of others. " यह बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने पुणे में 1939 में कहा था ।

"The allegation against RSS of violence and hatred against Muslims are wholly false. Muslims should learn the lesson of mutual love, cooperation and organisation from RSS." यह डा. जाकिर हुसैन जी ने कहा था ।

"Yours is a revolutionary organisation in the forefront of social transformation taking place today. You alone have the capacity to end casteism and wipe the tears from the eyes of the poor." यह जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने कहा था । पटना में कहा था पब्लिक फंक्शन में 3 नवम्बर, 1979 को ।

"The name of RSS is a household word for selfless service all over the country."

"It is here that we feel our head and heart completely satisfied and elevated.

यह श्री कोका सुब्बाराव जी, जो रिटायर्ड चीफ जस्टिस ऑफ इण्डिया थे, उन्होंने कहा था।

यू हिपसन खासी ट्राइबल लीडर ने यह कहा था ।

"The underground movement in India during Emergency is the only non-Left revolutionary force in the world. It is dominated by tens of thousands of RSS cadres having only one plank to bring democracy back to India." "Economics" London, dt.4-12-1976.

आखिर में मैं यह कहूंगा

"RSS has played a honourable role in maintaining Hindu-Sikh unity before and after the murder of Indira Gandhi in Punjab, Delhi and other places."

सिक्खों के हत्यारे कौन थे । उन पर केसेज़ चलाने के लिए लम्बा कर रहे थे। वह लोग आज बता रहे हैं कि आपका कल्चर क्या है । आप कल्चर की बात क्या करते हो। जब यूथ कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन अहमदाबाद में हुआ, नागपुर में हुआ जब उस अधिवेशन

से वापिस आ रहे थे तो थालियां लूट कर आए , पूरे की पूरी गाड़ी भर कर आ रहे थे, महिलाओं की इज्जत लूटी गई थी । यह हम नहीं भूल सकते हैं । यह सब हमने अनुभव किया है आप लोगों ने क्या क्या और कैसे कैसे किया है । हम लोगों ने बहुत अच्छा अनुभव किया है । इसलिए संस्कृति की बात मत करो । आपकी कांग्रेस की संस्कृति इस देश में नहीं चाहिये । भगवान करे ...(**व्यवधान**) इतनी बात कह कर मैं आपसे विदा लेता हूं और आपका धन्यवाद करता हूं कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया ।

SHRI V. KISHORE CHANDRA S. DEO (Andhra Pradesh) : Madam Chairperson, I shall not take much time of this House to discuss what has already been said. Enough has been said about the culture of the RSS. I do not want to add anything more, except to say that the ethos of the RSS is not unknown to the people. The manner in which this organisation had tried to create hatred between the two communities is a well known fact. Madam, today, we are discussing a situation that has arisen out of a circular that was issued by the Government of Gujarat. I am not one of those who is prepared to see this incident in isolation, or as something which pertains only to the State of Gujarat. This incident only gives us a glimpse into the shape of things that are to come, if this Government and these organisations are allowed to have a free run.

Madam, now, one tends to get more suspicious about the so-called Constitutional review which was talked about. Well, from an incident like this, one can read into this sinister design behind such reviews which have been introduced, which are sought to be made by certain Governmental committees, by usurping the power and the right of the people. In a democracy, the sovereign right rests with the people or with their representatives, that is, the Parliament. Today, you sought to form a Governmental committee. For what? It is only to strike at the basic roots of our Constitution, of which secularism is also a part. Madam, the Preamble of our Constitution clearly says that secularism is one of the basic features of our Constitution, an inalienable part of the Constitution. It is also evident that, probably, our Constitution is one of the few Constitutions which insulates the breaucracy. Today, a new kind of precedent is being sought to be created. The Government of Gujarat has removed the ban on a particular organisation. That is the State where they not only have officers of that State, but they also have Central service officers.

You are creating a situation where a dual kind of service will exist in

one state. The Central Government officers will not be allowed ot participate in the activities of the RSS, whereas the State Government officers will be allowed. Tomorrow, when you start recruiting officers to the State Government, they will recruit only RSS people into their cadres, into the bureaucratic cadres. A situationmay laso arise where the bureaucrats belonging to the RSS or memebers of that will be shown a partial kind of treatment and will be given plum posts and others will be given a stop-motherly sort of treatment. They may even go to the extent of victimising those bureaucrats by putting them in punishment postings. What is your answer to all these things? i would like to know that.

Madam, Chairperson, it is not a question of just Gujarat. Well, all of us have taken oath to protect this Constituion. As I have mentioned earlier, secularism is accepted by all to beone of the basic tenets of our Constitution. Madam, there is also something called article 365 of the Constitution. As I have mentioned earlier, securlairms is accepted by all to be one of the basic tenets of our Constitution. Madam, there is laso something called article 365 of the Constituion. I am not a jurist; but, being a student of political science, I have studied the Costitution of Inida. Why cannot the Government of Indina issue directions to the State Government to withdraw this? have we forgotten article 365? Madam, friends from the Telugu deasam arty ad the DMK and other allies have, in this House, paid lip-sympathy to the cause of secularism. Are you not part of this Cabinet ? Madam, friends from the Telugu desam party nad the DMK and other allies have, in this House, paid lip-sympathy to the cause of secularism. Are you not part of this Cabinet? Have you not had any of your Ministers raise this and ask the Centrla Government to issue a direction to the Government of Gujarat to withdraw this kind of a circular forthwith? is this not your responsibility? Or, is this lip-sympathy to secularism only relevant on the floor of this House, as long as a share in power is assured? *(Interruptions)*. unfortunately, we have foregotten the basic ethics and valuses. commitments do not exist any more. Commitemnts also sway with the opportunities as they come before us. We find ourselves today in a situation where we look for excuses; we find ourselves in a situation where we want to fit in somehow or other. madam, it is not a question of Gujarat alone. there are friends from Gujarat who have spoken. there are Members from all sides of this House who have raised this issue. Does the Central Government have a responsibility or not? If so, why has the Central Government not discharged its responsibility?

Madam Chairperson, I would not like to take much time of this House. There are other occasions when we will be discussing these issues in a more detailed manner. I would only ask the partners of this Government who have expressed their views on this, whether or not they will take up this in the Cabinet; and if this is not withdrawn, whether they will continue to share power ...*(Interruptions)*. I am talking with respect to certain values. Well, if you want to rule by sactrificing values, you are free to do it. That is your choice. I have nothing against you. I have no quarrel with you. Please go ahead. But the people of this coutnry also know what you are doing. You cannot cheat all people all the time. you have done it enough. *(Interruptions)*.

Madam, I presume that some Minister will reply to this discussion. I would like the hon. representative of this Cabinet to state whether they are prepared to give a direction under article 365 or not. Thank you.

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR (Nominated): Thank you, Madam Chairperson, for giving me an opportunity to speak. Madam, I express my angiish over the attempt to defeat the ethos of the country in a State of Mahatma Gandhi, the land of Gandhi. What were really the ethos of our national movement or what were the ethos of our country? We were all fighting to oust the Britishers--the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis and the Sikhs. There was no distinction because we wanted to oust the Britishers.

[**The Vice-Chairman (Shri Adhik Shirodkar)** in the Chair]

Sir, there was no question of the Hindu Rashtra, there was no question of the Islamic Raj or anything like that. We adopted those ethos later, the ethos of togetherness, the ethos of tolerance and the ethos of accommodation. So, when the R.S.S. owns a particular kind of philosophy of Hindu Rashtra or Hindutava, that philosophy is defeating the ethos of our country. Madam, the point I am trying to make is that the ethos of this country are being defeated through what the R.S.S. is trying to do. These ethos are being defeated because of the inaction on the part of the Central Government. This circular is only a symptom. The disease is bigger. Do we have a State which is going to mix religion with politics with it, a State which belong to a particular community? When the country was partitioned or when we got independence, it was very much up to us at that time to declare it as a Hindu Rashtra because 82 per cent of the people were Hindus. Why did we not do it? It was because of the fact that it was against the ethos of our

5.00 P.M

movement where Mahatma Gandhi was there, where Sardar Patel was there, where Jawaharlal Nehru was there, where Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was there and where Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was there. So, today, when certain things are being done to defeat the ethos of our country, I am standing up to express my anguish because that was not our purpose. After all, when Pakistan had declared itself an Islamic State, at that time, we could have declared our country a Hindu Rashtra. But we did not do it because the very climate, the very spirit, the very movement and the very being of this country is the sense of togetherness and the sense of accommodation. I recall that when I was India's High Commissioner to U.K., Mrs. Thatcher came from Moscow. She was then the Prime Minister of U.K. She said to me: " Mr. High Commissioner, Gorbachev is saying that the country is slipping out of his hands." She further said that she told Gorbachev to go to India and learn how, for centuries, the people are living together, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, whether they speak one language or the other, whether they profess one religion or the other. So, what has sustained us is the sense of accommodation, the sense of toleration. Today, I feel that that sense of accommodation is being defeated, is being edged out. I request the people on this side that it is not really a question of a particular political party. The question is a bigger one, that is, to save the country. This country cannot be saved if it is said to be belonging to only one religion. This country belongs to all of us, whatever may be our religion. We are all Indians, and for God's sake, don't bring in politics in the Services. Already, there is so much politics in the services. In fact, I can say that certain views which the Secretary to the Government of India is expressing today, they did not do so ten years ago or twenty years ago. Some hon. Member has referred to Jawaharlal Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru had sent a letter to the Chief Ministers stating that for God's sake, don't encourage the R.S.S. and see to it that the R.S.S. is not encouraged because they are spreading hatred which is against the spirit of the country.

If you like, I would bring the letter tomorrow. My request, here, is, let us rise above this kind of things. If the Centre believes that this Circular is bad, it is equally bad in Gujarat. It will be bad if you apply it to anybody. Let us not bring politics in Services and let us all rise to the occasion and see that the ethos of the country is preserved. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): May I have the sense of the House? Our mandate is to sit up to five. It is already five. There are three more hon. Members to speak. Then, there is a statement which, as the hon. Minister has said, he has to make it today, and, thereafter, I believe, there is a statement by the hon. Law Minister regarding the *lathi-charge.*

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM JETHMALANI): I can do it tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): May we sit beyond five?

AN HON. MEMBER: We can do it tomorrow.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We should finish it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): May I have the sense of the House to continue?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We should continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): There is also a statement by the Foreign Minister.

AN HON. MEMBER: Will it be taken today?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Yes, we should. We should be. If we had eliminated the time on interruption that has taken place, perhaps, we would have finished everything by now. Let us continue. The next speaker is Mr. Prafull Goradia. I am sorry. My apologies to you; I looked in the wrong direction.

SHRI PRAFULL GORADIA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think the strain has been so intense that I can well understand that you looked the other way. Only the last two speakers have talked about the future; the ethos we have speculated. We have also talked about the Constitutional reforms which have nothing to do with today's subject. So, it happens. I think we have built up a momentum. Actually, the matter is comparatively small and simple. The Gujarat Government, I don't think, had an intention of inducing the Government Officers, either of its own or of Centre, to join the RSS. It was just in response to the demand made by a number of employees--because in their early years they had been attending or used to attend the RSS

shakhas: "Kindly let us continue or resume attending the *shakhas.*

SHRI RAJUBHAI A. PARMAR: Nobody has demanded that! .... *(Interruptions)* ...

SHRI PRAFULL GORADIA: So, it was a simple demand. It was not an attempt to induce.... *(Interruptions)* ...

The second point, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, is, this essentially applies only to the State Government service. It has nothing to do with the centre, as it has been confirmed, and Article 309 of the Constitution clearly expects the State Government to make its own service rules for its employees, and, therefore, the question is: Are we really right in discussing this issue at such a great length and in detail in this House?

The other point is that the matter is sub judice. This has, somehow or other, escaped the attention of many of us. There are two public interest litigations pending before the hon. High Court of Gujarat at Ahmedabad. One is by the Rationalist Association, and the other is by the Lok Adhikari Sangh, along with the Saurashtra Shramik Parishad. The application nos. are SC(A)328 and SC(A)365 of the year 2000. And, as it happens, the case was to be heard today. Perhaps, the Court has already given some judgement, and here, on a parallel basis, we are discussing this issue so hotly and in such great detail. Whether a matter that is sub judice should really have been discussed or not, is really for the more knowledgeable to decide.

Then, of course, the question is what the Court have said. Now, a brief reference has been made, but I have a list of 15 cases, starting from a case by the Supreme Court, and, at the other end, a case by the Dehradun District Court which clearly exonerated the RSS from being a political organisation.

Thirteen High Court cases lying in the High Courts, ranging from Punjab in the North to Kerala in the South, have all been decided and some employees of the various State Governments got discharged because they were found to be attending the RSS Shakhas.

There were others whose applications for jobs were rejected on the basis of the fact that they were known to be associated with the RSS. But the courts, in every case, have exonerated RSS from being a political organisation. These cases range from 1955 to 1983, a total of 15. Then, of

course, there is the Constitution of the RSS, which was written in 1949. Article 3 of this Constitution is very clear. It says that RSS is a socio-cultural organisation and it has nothing to do with politics. Now, fair enough.. ...*(Interruptions)*... Now, the question is, there is scepticism on this issue. So, I am trying to clarify that if the RSS was really meant to be a political organisation, then, where was the compulsion to form a separate organisation called the Bharatiya Jan Sangh in those days, and, today, the Bharatiya Janata Party? Otherwise, all of us would have come here, elected on the RSS ticket. But, unfortunately, that is not possible. *(Interruptions)*. So, you are happy again now. This Constitution, which I have briefly referred to, was finalised in consultation with the then Government of India led by no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This was in 1949. Now, to cast aspertions on the Constitution is really somewhat unfortunate. Testimonials were given by various non-Sangh Parivar leaders, ranging from Mahatma Gandhi to Dr. Ambedkar to even the great Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The RSS, in the splendour of its uniform and band, was invited to march down the Rajpath on the Republic Day Parade of 1963, for the services rendered by it when China attacked India in 1962. There were these kinds of events. Not to forget Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narain, who, in 1974, paid glowing tributes to the work being done by the RSS. I am also told that Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, in 1963, happened to visit the RSS OTC coaching class in Kanpur and was all praise and was saying that he had been there to induce the RSS to join politics. Although it did not seem that he would succeed. *(Interruptions)* These are the things that will come and go. But there is something that makes me very anxious, personally, as a human being. It is about the anxiety expressed by some employees of the United Bank of India, Daryaganj, and some class III employees of the United Commercial Bank in Calcutta, who talked to me when I was there in Calcutta. They said that they are very apprehensive that the controversy over the RSS not being attended to, or, not being allowed to be attended to by the Government, may eventually gain momentum and it may land up in a situation whereby the bank employees may also not be allowed to join trade unions. Because these banks are departments of the Finance Ministry; they are not even limited companies. Their employees are allowed to join trade unions which are clearly linked to political parties. So, these employees, friends of mine, these class III employees, are beginning to feel apprehensive as to what will happen. Will their fundamental right of joining trade unions ever get knocked down by some court or the other? I

think we should exercise restraint before we threaten this fundamental right of workers to be members of trade unions. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please conclude now.

SHRI PRAFULL GORADIA: Government servants are not allowed to join unions, but in the public sector, where all the shares are held by the hon. President of India, they are allowed to join politicised trade unions and, naturally, they do not want to be cheated of their rights to be members of these unions.

Then, of course,.... *(Time bell)*.

Sir, I have taken note of your bell. I will just make one point and in a very disciplined manner I will sit down. The opposition that comes from my right hand side did not surprise me. But the opposition that comes from my friends sitting directly opposite to me suprised me a little. Maybe, it is because I am new to the Parliament. But, if I remember correctly, if we go back to the genesis of the Emergency, it was because a Government servant campaigned for a political candidate-- and, eventually, the Allahabad High Court said that it was illegal to have done so and unseated the candidate concerned--and that ultimately resulted in the Emergency. *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI JIBON ROY (West Bengal): That means the Constitution prevents a Government servant from taking part in the election campaign of a political party. *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): You had your time. *(Interruptions)*... You had your time. *(Interruptions)*... Please don't disturb. Otherwise, we will have to continue the discussion up to 8.00 P.M.

SHRI PRAFULL GORADIA: Eventually, that Government servant had been politicised and it was proved by the fact that he was rewarded, not because he was a Government servant, but obviously because he was mixed up with politics, and he was an hon. Member of our august House for several years. That is all I have to say. In sum and substance, let us call a halt to this debate because I think we have really no right to interfere in the affairs of a State. We have heard what the courts have said and the matter is sub judice. Thank you.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, it is the fag end of the debate. So, I won't take much of the time of the House. Just one or two apprehensions I would like to share with the House. He is smiling, Sir. *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Who can stop him from smiling? *(Interruptions)* ..

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, I hope he will continue to smile till I finish.

Sir, the hon. Prime Minister has said that the RSS is a social and cultural organisation. All of us have so much of respect for the Prime Minister that we can't at least, I can't--stand here in this House and tell the Prime Minister on his face that he is wrong. But what kind of a social and cultural organisation is it! The Prime Minister has also said that the RSS is his soul. He said, "the RSS is my soul". Unfortunately, the RSS from its Central Publication House has brought out a book called "Param Vaibhav ke Path per" detailing more than 40 organisations created by the RSS for different tasks and the BJP, as a political organisation, figures prominently in it clubbed with ABVP, Hindu Jagran Manch, and so on. Therefore, whether the official publication of the RSS is right or the Prime Minister is right, it is for the Prime Minister to say.

Secondly, I want to say this. If the RSS is a social and cultural organisation, it is very good. I have only two points to make and I will make them very quickly without getting into any controversy. The thing is that the RSS's oath, which I read before coming to participate in the debate because I wanted to know what it was, as the entire House is so agitated about it, when the RSS, according to the Prime Minister--we all respect the Prime Minister--is only a social and cultural organisation, says apparently--please correct me, if I am wrong; I will show you that--"I most solemnly take this oath, that I become a member of the RSS in order to achieve all-round greatness of Bharatvarsha by fostering the growth of my sacred Hindu religion, Hindu society and Hindu culture". In a complete break with the Constitution of India, the prayer says, "Affectionate Motherland, I enternally bow to you, O Land of Hindus, you have reared me in comfort, O God Almighty, we the integral part of the Hindu Rashtra salute you in reverence, for your cause have we girded up our loins, give us your blessings for its accomplishment". These are very good sentiments. Who can argue against

these sentiments, if we were a Hindu Rashtra? If we were to admit here that we are a Hindu Rashtra, these are the sentiments that the entire House should resound and endorse. The RSS guru, Golwalkar, declared in 1946, "it was the saffron flag that represented our great culture. But our leaders had set up a new flag for our country, the national flag. Why did they do so? It is just a case of drifting and imitating. Ours is an ancient and great nation with a glorious past. Had we not got a flag of our own? Had we not got a national emblem all these thousands of years? Undoubtedly, we had. Then, why is this utter void and utter vacuum in our mind? Even during the freedom struggle, when the whole country adopted the tricolour as a symbol of resistance, the RSS never accepted the national flag".

Sir, then, about the Constitution, the RSS says " it is absolutely nothing. It has absolutely nothing which can be called our own. Is there a single word of reference in its guiding principles to what a national mission is and what a key- note in life is?" This appeared in the "Bunch of Thoughts" published by the RSS in 1996. Sir, the RSS, a social and cultural organisation, says that India should be ruled -and this goes directly to my colleagues from Tamil Nadu, from the DMK- maybe they are not aware of it - under one flag, one leader, one ideology. And that it is totally against the federal structure of the Constitution. In Guru Golwalkar's communication to the first seesion of the National Integration Council in 1961, he said that today's federal form of Government not only gives birth, but also nourishes feelings of separatism; in a way refuses to recognise the fact of one nation and destroys it." It must be completely uprooted, the Constitution be purified, and a unitary form of Government be established." And my respected colleague, Shri Thirunavukkarasu, gets up here and says " you cannot divide us."

I assure you that it is not our intention to divide you. Who can possibly question your commitment to the unitary form of Government? One India. Whose India? One India, one rashtra, Hindu rashtra. If that is what the allies of the BJP, the NDA, whatever it is .. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I would like to give a clarification. Since she has addressed us, it is our responsibility to clarify. She is accusing us...*(Interruptions)*...

ŞHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : I am not accusing. I am just making a statement. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am not yielding. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATISCHANDRA SITARAM PRADHAN: Are you objecting to one India.(*Interruptions*) Do you agree with 'one India' or not? *(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Mrs. Natarajan, kindly look at me only so that this controversy does not take place. (*Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Certainly, Sir. May I continue, Sir? *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please continue. (*Interruptions)*

SHRI P. N. SIVA: It is our duty to clarify, Sir. ....(*Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN :Sit, I am not yielding. .....(*Interruptions)*....'

SHRI C.P. THIRUNAVUKKARASU: 'Jai Hind'. What is the meaning of this?....(*Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : I am not yielding. ...(*Interruptions)*....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please take your seat.

SHRI P. N. SIVA: If you say "Social organisation", it will open the Pandora's box, in our leader's contention. She cannot question us over what we are advocating and all that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): She is making a certain statement. She is entitled to it. There is going to be a reply on this from the hon. Minister. Please sit down...(*Interruptions).*

SHRIMATHI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : We all know what the RSS is. I think we can make statements on either side of the House. The only one report which really caught my attention was, that even before the allies of NDA were told about the Pokhran blast, one hour after the Pokhran blast the RSS's "Organiser" brought out a special commemorative volume, congratulating the Government on the Pokhran blast. That shows the status of the RSS in the Government. Therefore, Sir, I will not say anything more

about it. What bothers me most are only two things. I just want to clearly articulate what my apprehensions are. First of all, let the RSS be a social and cultural organisation. The question here is very simple. If Government employees are allowed to join the RSS, then there should be no two opinions on the fact that civil servants should be utterly and completely sacrosanct. In any democracy, specially, in a third world country like India, the civil servants- the State Government servants and the Central Government servants- make or break the life of thousands and thousands of people who live below the poverty line in terms of giving them ration cards, in terms of seeing that the essential needs of the people are met. The civil service has to be a steel framework, has to be completely sacrosanct, has to be completely free of divided loyalties and has to be, in every way, above narrow political and partisan considerations. Unless we accept that, we will be striking at the root .....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please conclude.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, I will just make one more point. Please bear with me. Unless we accept that, we will be striking at the very root of our administrative system and the entire administrative system will collapse. Therefore, if the RSS had been a part of the Government, if in any structure, it had been accountable to the Government, to Parliament, to the ruling party at least, or to an ordinary Member of the BJP, then we would have a forum to question them. At least, if the leaders of the NDA had got up here and said boldly as the Prime Minister had said,"We are members of the RSS", we could question them on the ideology, we could question them and say, "Look here, they are going wrong." We could question them and say, "How can the RSS challenge the National Flag?" For example, I object strongly to their saying that there is only one culture in India. Whose culture is it? Whose culture are you talking about? *(Interruptions)*. I am sorry. We have a Dravidian culture. You are imposingthe Hindi culture upon the Dravidian State which we will not tolerate. We will not allow this. If the RSS is a cultural organization, it is the RSS and the VHP who have done this with 'Water'. What they have done to M.F. Hussain, what they have done on the streets, what they are doing everyday, is cultural terrorism. God save us from this culture in this country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Madam, you are going off the track.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am sorry, Sir. I will come back.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): We had enough of 'Water' and enough of 'Fire'. Let us stick to the subject.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I will come back. I beg your pardon. I feel that this is totally on the track. But if you feel that it is not, I will come back. My point is this. God save us from this culture, if this is the definition of their culture. In a Fascist State - I am not saying that they are Fascists - in a Fascist organization, a Fascist party, say in Germany or Hitler, when they suborned the State, they at least, became a part of the State and they served the structure of the State. We object to an organization even if it is religious and apolitical that suborns the State to its activities. Here the State Government employees and the Government is answerable to the RSS. At least, if the RSS had been a part of the Government and was answerable to the Government, we would not have objected to it. Here they are making the entire Government answerable.

Lastly, I would like to talk about coalitions. It is a very serious problem that occurred to me. I would like to share my concern with the House. Here we are talking about a certain philosophy of the BJP which the BJP has set aside. They did not even have their own manifesto this time. They formed the NDA. They formed it on the basis of the sacred principle of federalism. They formed alliances with parties like the DMK in Tamil Nadu and the TDP in Andhra Pradesh. Now they have come to power. They have got the mandate. But what about the principle of coalitions? Here we have the allies of the NDA seriously questioning the Prime Minister's action. Here we have Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu - I congratulate him - asking the Prime Minister to kindly review this. He does not agree with this. What happens to the principle of coalition? If it is completely ignored.....

SHRI P. N. SIVA: This is the real spirit of coalition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please conclude.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, my last sentence on the subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): I am hearing this for the last ten minutes.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They are interrupting me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Please don't digress. Stick to the subject.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I would have welcomed it if in the true spirit of the idea of coalition, the ideas, the contentious ideas of the BJP and of the RSS had been altered to suit the democratic perceptions. But what is happening? Their allies are playing up to them. Democratic realities and perceptions are being altered to suit the RSS.

This is the tragedy of this country. The DMK, instead of categorically asking the Prime Minister whether he is going to withdraw this order or not, -- the DMK had earlier, in its manifesto, called the RSS an octopus -- they are calling the RSS a social and cultural organisation. It is for the Chief Minister to explain this. As citizens of Tamil Nadu, we wonder if this is their real stand, then,...*(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR) : Please conclude.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am finishing, Sir ...*(Interruptions)*... If they have any sense of shame, they should withdraw their support from this Government and not stick to power.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, the fact is that when TMC fought alone in the Parliamentary elections in Tamil Nadu, they lost in all the seats. Subsequently, they decided to have an alliance with corruption. That is the deviation...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P. N. SIVA: Sir, the reference to Chief Minister should be expunged...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: 'Chief Minister' is not an unparliamentary word...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI P.N. SIVA: We do not change colours. We are not chameleons like you people...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Shri Peter Alphonse himself had said in a television interview that the TMC would oppose religious fundamentalism as well as corruption. But now they have joined hands with corruption. This is where they stand...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: They are corrupt as well as communal. That is the problem... *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Mr. Alphonse, please sit down...*(Interruptions)* We are deviating from the subject. We were not willing to sit longer, and now we are changing the subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Now, Shri Ram Jethmalani.

SHRI RAMA SHANKER KAUSHIK: Is it a statement?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): If it were a statement, I will state so.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I am continuing this debate. The statement can wait. It is not a matter of great importance...*(Interruptions)*

श्री गुलाम नबी आज़ाद : आप क्रॉस फायरिंग में कहां आ गये ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR) : Please don't disturb. I am unable to understand this...*(Interruptions)* Please, let there be a healthy discussion.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI RAM JETHMALANI): Sir, I wish to start by paying a tribute to this very august House. By and large, intellectual arguments are heard with attention. They are heard with some amount of concentration and even respect. It is true that occassionally some heat is generated. But even that heat is a part of democracy. And it shows that we are alive and vibrant. We are a democratic Government.

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक : क्या यह गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से जवाब है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): He is participating in the debate.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Am I not a Member of this House? *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN(SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): You are senior enough to know that it is not a reply from the Government. He is

taking part in the debate. Please, let us not enter into a rhetoric which is not relevant...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Goa): You are allowing a number of speakers from that side. How much time has been allotted? *(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER: On behalf of which party is he speaking?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Why are you so afraid of my speech?

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Madam, I am on a point of order. I have the highest regard for the hon. Minister and I will listen to him with great attention. But I had sought a couple of minutes for myself. I hope you would consider it.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Our only objection was that in the morning itself, time was allotted, party-wise. Our party was given a certain time and we fielded our speakers. Suddenly, the Law Minister gets up and the Chair is clarifying that he is not replying on behalf of the Government, but only participating, in the debate. Our only query is, on whose time he is speaking? Proportionately, the other parties should be allotted time and we will field our speakers. Madam, this is a procedural question and this is a legitimate question. We want an answer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have some names. I do not know whether they have finished their speeches, or, Mr. Jethmalani is intervening. I have Mr. Sibal's name, Mr. Faleiro's name, I have Mr. Gandhi Azad's name, I have Mr. Ramoowalia's name, I have Mr. Arya's name from BSP. These names are there. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Let us know on whose time he is speaking. Government cannot flout the rules of procedure in this House. They cannot be law unto themselves.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let Mr. Jethmalani speak, then I will call the rest of the speakers. As the House has agreed to sit beyond 5 O'clock, there is no restriction that we should adjourn at a particular time.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Tomorrow we can continue with the debate. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: If you want to continue, we can extend the time; we have no objection.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani is a Member of this House and if he wants to speak, he should be allowed to speak. There have been interventions by Ministers in between debates. Perhaps, his contribution may be enlightening. Then, I will call others.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Madam, I have a point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, what is your point?

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Now, my point is, by all means, Mr. jethmalani can speak now. But you kindly agree to proportionately give time everybody else. We can continue it tomorrow. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. PETER ALPHONSE (Tamil Nadu) : Madam, I have a Calling Attention Motion on the first day itself. I was not given time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay; we will discuss the matter on time, but if I were to remind you that those people who had only three minutes time, spoke for 20 minutes, in whose quota the time will go? People who had five minutes, spoke for 10-15 minutes. Now, in whose quota will it go? We have always extended the time in this House and accommodated anybody who wanted to speak because this is the way we have run the House. Don't get worried if you want to speak a few words more. you can speak. Let the hon. member or Minister... *(Interruptions)*... Let him finish. *(Interruptions)* We do not do such things. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: Madam, We can continue tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have no objection. it is easier for me. The main thing is, we have a Statement here in hijacking. Let him finish and then we will adjourn. *(Interruptions)* Let us listen to him. May be, he will give you some points to speak for tomorrow. Let him finish.

श्री नरेश यादव : महोदया, मंत्री जी ने स्टेटमेंट के बारे में.....

उपसभापति : इतना झगड़ा नहीं करते हमारे हाऊस में ।

श्री नरेश यादव : महोदया, मंत्री जी ने स्टेटमेंट के बारे में खुद कहा कि

स्टेटमेंट ज्यादा इम्पॉर्टेंट नहीं है । मंत्री जी ने खुद कहा । यह इनके लिए इम्पॉर्टेंट नहीं है।

The Deputy Chairman: Which Mantri? there are two mantries. There are two Statements that two different mantries have to make. one Statement is by... *(Interruptions)*

बात सुनिए । एक स्टेटमेंट है जो जेठमलानी जी करने वाले हैं, लॉयर्स के सिलसिले में, और दूसरा स्टेटमेंट है जो जसवंत सिंह जी करने वाले हैं प्लेन की हाइजैकिंग के बारे में । वह स्टेटमेंट तो मेरे पास रखा हुआ है । मैंने आपसे इस बात का आग्रह किया था, दोनों स्टेटमेंट मेरे पास हैं । ....**(व्यवधान)**....

श्री नरेश यादव : महोदया.....

उपसभापति : इतनी देर में तो उनका भाषण भी खत्म हो जाता । देखिए, बेचारे खड़े हैं । कितना खराब लग रहा है, आपके हाऊस के मैंबर हैं । ज़रा बैठ जाइए, ऐसा नहीं करते । No, no. Let him finish.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL (Bihar): Madam, I suggest that Mr. Jethmalani speaks today. The discussion can, thereafter, continue tomorrow. After his speech, the Minister can make the statement and we can discuss that. And the balance of the discussion can continue tomorrow. *(Interruptions)* That is my suggestion because I think...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. But there is a problem. You see, sometimes, there are technical problems also. The Minister of External Affairs has a meeting with the visiting Foreign Minister. He has to be there at six. So, he can lay the statement on the Table of the House and we can have a discussion on it later.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Madam, there are two statements.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, there are two. But I deal with things on first-come-first-served basis. The first statement that is listed is of the Foreign Minister, and the second one is of the Law Minister. Now, we have the discussion which is continuing. So, let Mr. Jethmalani conclude his intervention within a short period. Then, I will ask the External Affairs Minister and the Law Minister to lay their statements on the Table of the House. You can discuss these to your heart's content later.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL : I think that is very good.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Jethmalaniji, not in one hour, not in half-an-hour; you will have to finish it soon so that the External Affairs Minister can leave on time. *(Interruptions)* इतने झगड़े में तो वह हो भी जाता।

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: It suits us, Madam, ... *(Interruptions)*

Madam, I was just paying a compliment which you didn't hear. So, I am repeating it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: To me or to Mr. Shirodkar?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: To the whole House, and you are part of it. The compliment was that, except for occasional eruptions of heat, we do listen to one another's conflicting viewpoints with some amount of attention. I am sorry that I have to say a few things which are controversial and which some Members may even find provocative. But I hope the hon. Members will have the usual fortitude and affection which I have always received.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, I have seen the demonstration of it just before I came.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Madam, we are a democratic Government, and, in the practice of all democracies, it often happens that we cannot do what is wise and proper and we have to postpone it because public opinion is not yet ready.

Today, I believe, we are faced with one such situation. For taking a decision at the Central level, the Government must be satisfied that the people of India as a whole will approve of this decision; in any event, substantially, the people of India will approve of it. On the other hand, if a matter lies within the jurisdiction of a State and if the State Government is satisfied that the people of that State are quite responsive to the action, that it will meet the approbation of the people of that State and that what it is doing will be recognised as good and wise by a substantial majority of the people of that State, that State may will do it; we might even approve the wisdom of what they do, but it does not follow that should necessarily be repeated at the Centre because, at the Centre, a different test has to be applied, that is the test of the general people of India accepting that decision. Madam, if all that this debate is about is whether the Government of India today wants to do what precisely the Government of Gujarat has done, that answer can certainly be an

answer in the negative. We are a coalition Government, and it is inherent in the nature of a coalition Government that there must be a fixed, agreed, programme. That fixed, agreed, programme is not a secret agenda, is not a secret document, but it is a public document on the basis of which elections have been fought. That agreed agenda of the coalition does not talk of any action of the kind which the Gujarat Government has taken. Therefore, you need not ask for these assurances. The coalition Government will hold its horses until all the coalition partners are ready to accept a particular decision, and the coalition Government is satisfied that the people of India, in general, will accept that decision.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU : Is Chautala included in that arrangement?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI :Don't worry. You don't have to identify them. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU : We were just curious.

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI :You might be a part of it tomorrow.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU : Since you were lecturing on coalition...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Okay, go ahead.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Madam, whenever a debate about the RSS takes place, it is inevitable that we think of Gandhiji. He was one of the greatest that this country has produced, and doubtless he was the uncontroverted, uncrowned, king of India, and the greatest that we could produce and such a person, probably, we will not be able to produce in the next one century. But, along with that great man, India produced another great man to whom, I believe, history has not been absolutely fair. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am talking of a person who did not belong to the BJP because the BJP did not exist then. I am talking of a great man about whom when an impartial history of India comes to be written, his place will be much, much, much higher than it is today, and I am talking of the great man Sardar Patel.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : He banned RSS. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Faleiro, at least, you know me as a lawyer; I don't make foolish arguments. Listen with some attention. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA : Normally, you don't, but this time you did.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Madam, it is true that this whole nation was traumatised by what happened on the 30th of January, 1948. But you must assume that the person who must have been traumatised even more than the others, must be one who had worked with that great man for the whole of his life; that was Sardar Patel.

Madam, a lot of references have been read. My friend, Satishbhai, read quite a few references, but before I go into the other aspects of this debate, let me tell you what Sardar Patel said after the tragic incident of the 30th of January, 1948. Here is the 14th volume of the Collected Works of Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel. ...*(Interruptions)*... It is published by the advisory committee since you are wanting to know whether I have written it, I am saying this of which the Chairman is Shri Nijalingappa, the Vice-Chairman is S.B. Chavan, there is a former Minister of HRD, Chimanbhai Mehta, and a large number of them. I do not wish to waste the time; those of you who want to know can read the names from any one of the 14-15 volumes. Madam, this is a letter which Sardar Patel wrote on the 16th July, 1949, which occurs at page 187 of the 14th volume. Sardar Patel writes to Mr. Venkataramana Shastri. The last paragraph of the letter is, 'Congress today is in some kind of a chaos. At least, there is no political body to take its place and it should be our common aim to strengthen its organisation.' Quite laudable it is. Everybody would have agreed with this. In an effort to strengthen the Congress, Sardar Patel says, 'I have advised RSS in the past that the only way for them is to reform the Congress from within.'

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD: This is out of context.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I will leave this volume overnight today so that all of you will discover the context in which it is said. And tomorrow ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री जलालुदीन अंसारी (बिहार): इससे क्या निकलता है? ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : पटेल जी ने आर.एस.एस. के बारे में जो कहा है वह भी कह दीजिए ...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राम जेठमलानी : मैडम, मेरे से झगड़ा क्यों करती हैं...**(व्यवधान)** पटेल साहब से झगड़ा करें।

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : पटेल साहब को बता दें कि पटेल साहब ने आर.एस.एस. के बारे में क्या कहा...(**व्यवधान**)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO: Will you quote your own Prime Minister, Mr. Vajapayee, on the RSS? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Listen, I quoted Sardar Patel because he was one of the greatest leaders and one of the greatest Indians. I have my own intellect and I have my own understanding of history; I am a student who has studied the RSS and its activities and I will now share with you of what I think of the RSS.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do not get excited.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: I never get excited but I only appear to. *(Interruptions)* अभी मैं आता हूं ...(**व्यवधान**)

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: It is not good. Never be so candid in public.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Madam, candidness is my greatest virtue and, perhaps, the only virtue left. I am now seventy-six years old and there are few things which excite me and certainly it is not Kapil!

SHRI Y. RADHAKRISHNA MURTY(Andhra Pradesh): This is an entertainment Session, Madam. ..*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Madam, there is another aspect which must be clarified. What does membership of a political party or membership of an organisation mean? I believe, you belong to a political party in preference to others to which you do not belong because you disagree with it less than you disagree with others. I do not think any human organisation is so perfect that you will accept hundred per cent of what that organisation does. You may not like some actions or some omissions of the RSS but, Madam, as a Baden Powel Scout, I have worn a khaki short, but I have never attended an RSS Shakha and I have never become a member of the RSS. But my own intellectual conviction is that the RSS is a reservoir of patriotism, good character, and committed to the integrity of India. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let us now get into some very, very important historical facts which are always forgotten. In the history of pre-Independent India, Madam, the last attempt to unite the two major communities of India was Khilafat Movement. People have serious difference of opinion with what Gandhiji did. Some people think

that the Khilafat Movement was an ill-advised step; some people think otherwise. I personally speak that any price was worth paying at that time for the sake of securing the unity of the two communities to fight the Britishers. But the experiment of the Khilafat Movement failed in 1924. It was apparent to everybody that a struggle which will take place against the Britishers unfortunately will not be a united struggle but perhaps will be a divided house. So, it happened and it postponed the freedom of India by perhaps at least two or three decades. But, the RSS was born when the Khilafat experiment failed because some people realised that now we have to go alone. That is the origin and I believe -- I do not remember the exact date -- the RSS was born in 1925. ..*(Interruptions)*... Madam, there is one fact which must be remembered. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक: आजादी की लड़ाई में क्या किया उन्होंने?...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राम जेठमलानी: आप कुछ धीरज से सुनिए।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक: अंग्रेज़ों का साथ दिया है।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्री राम जेठमलानी: उसके ऊपर भी आता हूं, पर धीरे-धीरे।...**(व्यवधान)**

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी: आजादी की लड़ाई जब हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, सब मिल कर लड़ रहे थे, तो ये क्या कर रहे थे ?

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: If your philosophy had succeeded, India would have been 20 parts, not one or two, but 20 parts. ..*(Interruptions)*... Did you not pronounce that every linguistic group with a separate nationality?... *(Interruptions)*... That was your phiolosophy.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to adjourn the House. You have only three mintues. ...*(Interruptions)*... We have to get a statement. ...*(Interruptions)*... I would suggest that as there are only five or six mintues left and the Minister for External Affairs has to leave, I keep the discussion closed now for today. Let the Minister for External Affairs lay his statement. ...*(Interruptions)*...Mr. Minister, do you want to lay your statement or do you want to read it? ...*(Interruptions)*... Both the Ministers can lay their statements. ...(Interruptions)... The copies of the statement will be distributed straightaway. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): I can read it within five minutes. ...(Interruptions)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. ...*(Interruptions)*..

SOME HON. MEMBERS: He can lay it. ...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would have assumed that it is of sufficient importance and interest to the hon. Members.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have no objection. If you want to lay it, you lay it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will read it very quickly...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री नरेश यादव : ले कर दीजिए । ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक : ले कर दीजिए । सभा-पटल पर रख दीजिए ।

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Madam, he can lay it on the Table of the House...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you want to lay it on the Table of the House, I ask Mr. Jethmalani also to lay his statement on the Table of the House...*(Interruptions)*...

STATEMENT BY MINISTERS

Hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI JASWANT SINGH): Madam, I lay a suo motu statement on the hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814 on the Table of the House because the Members do not seem to have any interest in my reading it out...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI GHULAM NABI AZAD (Jammu and Kashmir): We have interest in the discussion, but not in your reading out the statement...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Goa): Madam Deputy Chairperson, we have a lot of interest in seeking clarifications. It may be fixed for tomorrow to seek clarifications on the statement...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have got five names with me on the statement...*(Interruptions)*...